

Classical Tamil Summer Seminar

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EFEO Pondicherry

## **A GRAMMAR OF CLASSICAL TAMIL**

4<sup>th</sup> preliminary version

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(updated in September 2012)

## Preface

This printout is supposed to be a very preliminary first draft of a grammar of Classical Tamil which shall one day be the output of the joined efforts of many scholars working on the Pondicherry Caṅkam project. For the time being it is hardly more than a collection of morphological and syntactical phenomena richly illustrated from (mostly) early classical texts. It is meant to give students a basic inventory not so much of forms (which can be looked up in various printed grammar books), but of the actual usage to be found in the texts, as well as some rules which have been formulated so far (mostly rules of thumb and as yet far from the sophisticated state found and expected in the grammar books of more advanced philologies.)

Among its various drawbacks and shortcomings are the following:

1. The descriptive text is still in an embryonic state and as such often incomprehensible without the explanations of a teacher. (Why does this sound vaguely familiar?)
2. The cross-references to secondary literature are largely missing. This is in part due to the fact that, unfortunately, for most topics useful secondary literature is presently non-existent.
3. The more or less reliable core of data is restricted to the early anthologies of the Caṅkam corpus (KT, NA, AN, PN). Though there are occasional references to later texts and later developments, no ambition whatsoever has been put in sketching a historical development, let alone in giving a complete survey. This can be explained by the limited scope of research of the present author. It can also be explained by the state of our editions and the level of research done in different texts and genres: all that can be said for the time being is at best impressionistic.

In short, in the field of Classical Tamil students need to be given one piece of serious advice: never trust any authority, printed or oral. Trust in your own eyes and makes use of your own brains. [And please note down what you see. Whoever works on a particular text should make lists of peculiarities and references.]

Eva Wilden, Pondicherry January 2005

## Schedule

1 <sup>st</sup> week	Bhakti (Tēvāram, Tiruvāymolī), Kuraḷ
1	non-marking of cases (oblique, zero, locatives, dative – word-order)
2	nominal sentences (finite verb – participial noun – pronominal noun)
3	attribution (nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs)
4	clauses: absolute/converb/ <i>vinaiyēccam</i>
5	clauses: infinitive
2 <sup>nd</sup> week	Mutoḷḷāyiram, Epos (Cilapatikāram, Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi)
6	clauses: (perfective <i>peyaṛēccam</i> )/-um- <i>peyaṛēccam</i> /habitual future
7	verbal roots (for <i>peyaṛēccam</i> and other forms), verbal nouns
8	string attribution (mixed nominal and verbal forms)
9	verbal sentences (tenses/aspects, moods)
10	coordination and questions (-um, -ō, -kol, kollō)
3 <sup>rd</sup> week	Poetics and Commentaries (Nakkīraṇ's preamble, TP)
11	embedded clauses ( <i>eṇ, āku, pōl</i> )
12	clauses: conditional (factual and hypothetical)
13	negation ( <i>al/il</i> , zero infix, negative stem, double verb forms)
14	denominative (pronominal nouns as predicate nouns)
15	double verb forms, <i>muṟṟēccam</i> and auxiliaries
4 <sup>th</sup> week	Caṅkam (Puṛaṇānūru, Aiṅkuṛunūru, Kuṛuntokai, Narriṇai)
16	particles and word-order (-ē)
17	modal particles ( <i>maṇ/maṇra, āl, amma, tilla, teyya</i> )
18	circular construction ( <i>pūṭṭu vil</i> )
19	formulae as syntactic matrices; stylistics: simile and inset; types of poems
20	metre: Ācīriyappā and Veṇpā

## Introduction

### Classical Tamil (*intuitive consensus*)

Old Tamil: \*0-1000 AD

Early Old Tamil	KT, NA, AN, PN, AiN, Pattup.?, Patir.?	stable word-order, particles old pronouns, honorific, formulae
Middle Old Tamil	Par., Kal., Kīlkkāṇakku, Cilap., Kuraḷ, Tēvaram, Antāti-s	old morphol., new style/content new pron. + plural, word-order and particle chaos, hybrid forms, rarely 'present', less formulae
Late Old Tamil	Muttol., Cintāmaṇi, Tiruvāymoli, Tirukkōvai [Kampan, 12 <sup>th</sup> c.]	standardisation of 'present', pl., pronouns; less pron. nouns few formulae, new vocabulary
Middle Tamil: 1000-1900 AD		new aux., compound sentences (Commentary prose)

Modern Tamil: 19<sup>th</sup> century

table of basic chronology of the Caṅkam corpus

Zeit	Texttraditionen					
	Pāṇṭiya, Cēra, Cōla		Cēra	Pāṇṭiya		Pāṇṭiya, Cēra, Cōla
	Akam	Puram	Akam/Puram	Akam	gemischt	gemischt
1.-3. Jh.	Kuṟuntoka i Narriṇai Akanānūru	Puṛanānūru				
4. Jh.	↓	↓	Aiṅkuṟunūru Patirruppattu			Neṭunalvātai Porunarārruppatai Cīrupāṇārruppatai Perumpāṇārruppatai
5. Jh.	↓  KT 1	↓				Malaipaṭukaṭām Kuriṇcippāṭṭu Paṭṭinappālai Mullaippāṭṭu Maturaikkāñci
6. Jh.	↓	↓		Kalittokai	Paripāṭal	Tirumurukārruppatai
7. Jh.	kaṭavul vālttu-s	→	→	→	?	
	Pāṇṭiya			Pāṇṭiya		Pāṇṭiya, Cēra, Cōla
12. Jh.	„Ettuttokai”					„Pattuppāṭṭu“





Morphological Changes from Early Old Tamil to Middle and Late Old Tamil  
[Lehmann, forthcoming  
Wilden, forthcoming]

personal pronouns: 1<sup>st</sup> singular nominative  $yāṇ > nāṇ$   
2<sup>nd</sup> singular oblique stem  $nin > uṇ$

plural suffixes:  $-kaḷ$  (first for neuter, then added to old honorific  $-ar / -ār$ ,  
then gradually taking over)  
 $-kāḷ$  vocative  
 $-mār$  3<sup>rd</sup> plural  
 $-mīr$  2<sup>nd</sup> plural

present tense:  $-kiṇr-$

negative absolutive:  $-āmal$

special conditionals:  $-ēl$  (after root, after peyareccam, after finite verb)  
 $-ākil$   
 $-il$   
 $-āl$  (mostly already after absolutive, but also found  
after finite forms)

special imperatives:  $-ēl$  (negative)  
 $-miṇkaḷ$  (old form plus plural suffix)  
 $-īrkaḷ$

### Complete list of the Eṭṭuttokai

- |                  |                                    |
|------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Kuṟuntokai    | (no commentary)                    |
| 2. Naṟṟiṇai      | (no commentary)                    |
| 3. Akanāṇūru     | (anonymous commentary on AN 1-90)  |
| 4. Puṟanāṇūru    | (anonymous commentary on PN 1-250) |
| 5. Aiṇkuṟunūru   | (anonymous commentary)             |
| 6. Patirruppattu | (anonymous commentary)             |
| 7. Kalittokai    | (comm. by Naccinārkkkiṇiyar)       |
| 8. Paripāṭal     | (comm. by Parimēlaḷakar)           |

### Complete list of the Pattuppāṭṭu:

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. Tirumurukārruppaṭai | (comm. by Naccinārkkkiṇiyar, Parimēlaḷakar, etc.) |
| 2. Porunarārruppaṭai   | (comm. by Naccinārkkkiṇiyar)                      |
| 3. Cirupaṇārruppaṭai   | (comm. by Naccinārkkkiṇiyar)                      |
| 4. Perumpaṇārruppaṭai  | (comm. by Naccinārkkkiṇiyar)                      |
| 5. Mullaippāṭṭu        | (comm. by Naccinārkkkiṇiyar)                      |
| 6. Maturaikkāñci       | (comm. by Naccinārkkkiṇiyar)                      |
| 7. Neṭunalvātai        | (comm. by Naccinārkkkiṇiyar)                      |
| 8. Kuṟiṇcippāṭṭu       | (comm. by Naccinārkkkiṇiyar)                      |
| 9. Paṭṭiṇappālai       | (comm. by Naccinārkkkiṇiyar)                      |
| 10. Malaipaṭukaṭām     | (comm. by Naccinārkkkiṇiyar)                      |

### Complete List of Patineṇ Kiḷkkaṇakku:

- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. Nālaṭiyār             | (didactic, comm. by Patumaṇār, Tarumaṇār, etc.)        |
| 2. Nāṇmaṇikkaṭikai       | (didactic)   |
| 3. Inṇānāṟpatu           | (didactic)   |
| 4. Iniyavaināṟpatu       | (didactic)   |
| 5. Kārnāṟpatu            | (Akam)   |
| 6. Kaḷavaḷināṟpatu       | (Puṟam)  |
| 7. Aintiṇaiyaṁpatu       | (Akam, anonymous comm.)                                |
| 8. Aintiṇaiyeḷupatu      | (Akam, anonymous comm.)                                |
| 9. Tiṇaimoliyaṁpatu      | (Akam, anonymous comm.)                                |
| 10. Tiṇaimālainūṟraṁpatu | (Akam, anonymous comm.)                                |
| 11. Tirukkuṟaḷ           | (didactic, comm. by Maṇakkuṭavar, Parimēlaḷakar, etc.) |
| 12. Pañcamūlam           | (didactic)   |
| 13. Ācārakkōvai          | (didactic)   |
| 14. Paḷamoḷi             | (didactic)   |
| 15. Ciṟupañcamūlam       | (didactic)   |
| 16. Mutumoliḷikkāñci     | (didactic)   |
| 17. Ēlāti                | (didactic)   |
| 18. Kainnilai            | (Akam)   |
| 19. Tirikaṭukam          | (didactic)   |



Complete list of the Panniru Tirumurai

TM I-III: 1. <b>Campantar:</b>	<b>Tēvāram</b>
TM IV-VI: 2. <b>Appar:</b>	<b>Tēvāram</b>
TM VII: 3. <b>Cuntarar:</b>	<b>Tēvāram</b>
TM VIII: 4. <b>Māṇikkavācakar:</b>	<b>Tiruvācakam, Tirukkōvaiyār</b>
TM IX: 5. Tirumālikaittēvar,	
6. Karuvūrttēvar,	
7. Pūnturutti Nampikāṭanampi,	
8. Kaṇṭarāttittar,	
9. Vēṇāṭṭaṭikaḷ,	
10. Tiruvāḷiyamutaṇār,	
11. Puruṭṭottamanampi,	
12. Cētirāyar:	Tiruvicaippā
13. Cēntaṇār:	Tiruvicaippā, Tiruppallāṇṭu
TM X: 14. Tirumūlar:	Tirumantiram, Tantiram 1-9
TM XI: 15. Tiruvālavāyūṭaiyar:	Tirumukappācuram
16. <b>Kāraikkāl Ammaiyaṛ:</b>	Arputat Tiruvantāti, Tiruviraṭṭaimaṇimālai, <b>Tiruvalaṅkāṭṭu Patikam-s</b>
17. Aiyāṭikaḷ Kātavar Kōṇ:	Kṣētirattiruvenpā
18. Cēramāṇ Perumāl:	Ponvaṇṇattantāti, Nāṇavulā,
Ārūrmummaṇi	
19. <b>Nakkīratēvar:</b>	Kayilaipāti Kaḷattipātiyantāti, Tiruvīṅkōymalai Eluppatu, Tiruvāḷaṅcuḷi Mummaṇikkōvai, Tiruvelukūrrirukkai, Peruntēvapāni, Kōpappiracātam, Kār Eṭṭu, Pōrriṭ Tirukkalivenpā, <b>Tirumurukārruppaṭai</b> , Tirukaṇṇappatēvar Tirumaṇam
20. Kallātatēvar:	Tirukkaṇṇappatēvar Tirumaṇam
21. Kapilatēvar:	Mūttanāyaṇār Tiruviraṭṭaimaṇimālai,
Civaperumāṇ	
22. Paraṇatēvar:	Tiruviraṭṭaimaṇimālai, Civaperumāṇ Tiruvantāti
23. Iḷamperumāṇ Aṭikaḷ:	Civaperumāṇ Tirumummaṇikkōvai
24. Atirāvaṭikaḷ:	Mūttapiḷḷayār Tirumummaṇikkōvai
25. Paṭṭiṇattup Piḷḷaiyār:	Kōyil Nāṇmaṇimālai, Tirukkaḷumala Mummaṇikkōvai, Tiruviṭaimarutūr Mummaṇikkōvai, Tiruvēkampamuṭaiyār Tiruvantāti, Tiruvorriyūr Orupā Orupatu
26. Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi:	Tirunaraiyūr Vināyakar Tiruviraṭṭaimaṇimālai, Kōyil Tiruppaṇṇiyar Viruttam, Tiruttonṭar Tiruvantāti, Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruvantāti, Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruccaṇpaiviruttam Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Mummaṇikkōvai Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruvulāmālai, Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tirukkalampakam, Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruttokai, Tirunāvukkaracu Tēvar Tiruvēkāṭaca Mālai
TM XII: 27. Cēkkilār:	Tiruttonṭar purāṇam = Periyapurāṇam



## Complete List of the Nālāyirat Tivyappirapantam

1. Poykaiyālvār: First Tiruvantāti
2. Pūtattālvār: Second Tiruvantāti
3. Pēyālvār: Third Tiruvantāti
4. Tirumalīcaiā.: Tiruccantaviruttam, Nāṇmukam Tiruvantāti
5. Nammālvār: **Tiruviruttam**, Tiruvācīriyam, Periyatiruvantāti, **Tiruvāymoḷi**
6. Periyālvār: **Periyālvār Tirumoḷi**
7. Āṇṭāl: **Tiruppāvai, Nācciyār Tirumoḷi**
8. Tirumaṅkaiyā.: **Periyatirumoḷi**, Tirukuruntāṇṭakam, Tiruneṭuntāṇṭakam, Tiruveḷukūrrirukkai, Cīriyatirumaṭal, Periyatirumaṭal
9. Kulacēkaraṇā.: Perumāl Tirumoḷi
10. Tiruppāṇā.: Amalanātippirāṇ
11. Toṇṭaraṭipoṭiyā: Tirumālai, Tirupalliyelucci
12. Madhurakaviyā.: Kaṇṇinuṇ Cīruttāmpu

## Sandhi in Classical Tamil

(list compiled by Sascha Ebeling)

The following is a short, by no means comprehensive, list of the most frequent sandhi phenomena, both internal and external, in Classical Tamil. For further niceties, see Andronov 1969, §§ 15-23, and Beythán 1943, §§ 21-28, from which also most of the following examples have been taken.

### Vowel sandhi

Sandhi phenomena are as in Modern Tamil.

Additionally, one finds:

$-u + \psi - > i\psi$ ,  $\omega\epsilon \downarrow \kappa \downarrow \square u + \psi \square \mid \alpha i > \omega\epsilon \downarrow \kappa \downarrow \square \square i\psi \square \mid \alpha i$  'white tusked elephant'.

### Consonant sandhi

$\mu + \kappa > \equiv \kappa$

$\mu + \chi > \square \chi$

$\mu + \tau > \nu \tau$

$\mu + \kappa/\chi/\tau/\pi > \kappa\kappa/\chi\chi/\tau\tau/\pi\pi$ , *ιν χομπουνδς: καμαλαμ + κα > καμαλακκα* ) ελοτο σ εψεε.

$\mu + \mu > \mu$ ,  $\nu \square \mu \alpha \mu + \mu \square \Sigma \upsilon \mu > \nu \square \mu \alpha \mu \square \Sigma \upsilon \mu$  ετηε ναμε ωιλλ χηανγεε.

$\mu + \mu > \mu \mu$ , *ιφ τηε φIRST ωορδ ις μονοσψλλαβιχ ανδ σηορτ: χεμ + μα > χεμμ α* ) ερεδ εαρτηε.

$\mu + \nu > \nu$ , *μαραμ + ν × \square ατν > μαραν × \square ατν* ετηε τρεε γρεω λονγεε.

$\mu + \nu > \nu \nu$ , *ιφ τηε φIRST ωορδ ις μονοσψλλαβιχ ανδ σηορτ: πεμ + ν × ρ > πενν × ρ* εηοτ ωατερε

$\mu + \square > \square \square$ , *ιφ τηε φIRST ωορδ ις μονοσψλλαβιχ ανδ σηορτ: ταμ + \square \square / > τα \square \square \square /* εονεεσ στρινγεε.

$\lambda + \kappa > \Sigma \kappa$

$\lambda + \chi > \Sigma \chi$

$\lambda + \pi > \Sigma \pi$

$\lambda + \tau > \Sigma \Sigma$  ορ  $\kappa \Sigma$

$\lambda + \tau > \Sigma$ , *ιφ τηε φIRST ωορδ ις ιν νομινατιπε φορμ: \square λ + τ × τν > \square \Sigma × τν* ετηε β ανψαν ις βαδεε.

$\lambda + \mu > \mid \mu$

$\lambda + \nu > \mid \mid \text{ορ} \mid$

$\Re + \kappa > \square \kappa$

$\Re + \chi > \square \chi$

$\Re + \pi > \square \pi$

$\Re + \tau > \square\square$  or  $\square$   
 $\Re + \tau > \square$ , ιφ της φIRST ωορδ ις ιν νομινατιπες φορμ:  $\nu\square\Re + \tau\downarrow\Sigma\nu\mu > \nu\square\square\downarrow\Sigma\nu$   
 $\mu$  εδαιλψε.  
 $\Re + \mu > \square\mu$   
 $\Re + \nu > \square\square$  or  $\square$   
 $\square + \kappa > \square\kappa$   
 $\square + \chi > \square\chi$   
 $\square + \pi > \square\pi$   
 $\square + \tau > \square\square$  or  $\square\square$   
 $\square + \nu > \square\square$  or  $\square$   
 $\square + \kappa > \Sigma\kappa$   
 $\square + \chi > \Sigma\chi$   
 $\square + \tau > \square\Sigma$  or  $\Sigma\Sigma$   
 $\square + \pi > \Sigma\pi$   
 $\square + \nu > \square\square$  or  $\square$   
 $\square + \nu > \square\square$  or  $\square$

## Consonant gemination

*k, c, t, p* undergo gemination:

- after the accusative suffix *-ai*.
- after the dative suffix *-(uk)ku*.
- after *-a* of the infinitive.
- after *-i* of the  $\tau\iota$  | αιψεχχαμ (including the forms  $\square\psi$  and  $\pi\downarrow\psi$ ).
- after *-u* preceded by a double consonant (as in the oblique case).
- after the demonstrative clitics *a-*, *i-*, *u-* and after *e-* (also after *inta*, *anta*, *enta*).
- after  $-\square$  of the positive  $\tau\iota$  | αιψεχχαμ (converb):  $\nu)\square-\chi-\chi\epsilon/\Sigma\square$  'He ate and went off'.
- after  $-\square$  of the negative peyareccam (relative participle):  $\downarrow\square\square-\kappa-\kappa\upsilon\tau\iota\rho\alpha\iota$  'a non-running horse'.
- after monosyllabic words ending in a long vowel.
- in compounds (of *καρμαδη□ραψα* or *γενετιπες-τατπυρυ•α* kind): after mono- and disyllabic neuter nouns ending in a vowel or *-ψ*, *-ρ*, *-λ*:  $\pi\chi\tau\iota-\kappa-\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\upsilon$  'street door'.

Gemination does *not* occur:

- after a finite verb form.
- after  $-\square$  of the negative  $\tau\iota$  | αιψεχχαμ (converb):  $\nu)\square-\pi\downarrow/\square$  'Without having eaten, he went off'.
- after a vocative form.
- after an imperative singular (= verbal root).
- after the clitics  $-\square$ ,  $-\odot$ ,  $-\downarrow$ .
- after the (declension) endings  $-\iota\lambda\iota\rho\upsilon\nu\tau\upsilon$ ,  $-\downarrow\square\upsilon$ ,  $-\iota/\iota/\Sigma\upsilon$ ,  $-\nu\square\alpha\iota\psi\alpha$ .
- after the pronouns *itu*, *atu*, *etu*, *ivai*, *avai*, *evai*, *vx*.
- after  $\epsilon/\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha/\alpha\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\square$ ,  $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha$ ,  $\chi\iota\lambda\alpha$ .



## Grammar

grammars: Beythan 1943  
Agesthialingom 1979  
Rajam 1992  
Lehmann 1994, 1998

## Nouns

### 1. Word Classes and Basic Inflection

#### 1.1.1 cases/non-marking of cases

zero	= nom.
(voc.	= nom. or minus ending)
oblique	-iṇ / -tu / gemination
cases	dat. -(k)ku
	loc. -āṇ, (-il), -akattu, -iṭai, -kaṇ, -vayin, -mutal, -talai, -māṭṭu
	-uḷ; -tēettu, -mēṇa (...)
	soc. -oṭu / (-uṭaṇ)
	(inst. -āl / -āṇ, -oṭu)
	(acc. -ai)
	(gen. -atu, -uṭai / -keḷu?)
	(abl. = comp. -iṇ?)

#### 1.1.2. types of nouns – list of nominal suffixes (the only existing one in Zvelebil 1967)

primary suffixes:

[root nouns – definition problem: should nouns not identical with verbal roots and ending in consonants other than those of the obvious suffixes generally be termed root nouns(?)]

-(v)u forming neuter nouns (often freely variable with -am)

-am

-ā

-aṇ distinction (sometimes free variation with -am)

-ar ? (kāmar desirable?)

-uḷ forming neuter nouns; less productive (*paipyuḷ?*, *viḷaiyuḷ* NA 45.9, *veppuḷ* PN 120.1)

-(v/cc/tt)i forming feminine nouns (*pulaicci* “washer woman”)

-i forming agent nouns (bhakti: *ēnti* “holder”)

note: Tamil nouns are neuter, unless they are marked for upper class (= m./f./h.) by a pronominal (or quasi-pronominal) suffix.

-vu/-(p)pu      forming abstract nouns to verbal roots

-vai

-mai

-(k)kai

-(c)ci

-(t)ti

-al/-(t)tal      forming verbal nouns

verbal root in *guṇa*: *aṭu* – *āṭu*

secondary suffixes:

the pronominal suffixes (short and long) – forming pronominal + participial nouns

sg.

1.      -eṇ/ēṇ

2.      -i, -āy, -ai, -oy/ōy

3.m.   -aṇ/āṇ, -oṇ/ōṇ

3.f.    -aḷ/āḷ, -oḷ/ōḷ

3.n.    -(a)tu

pl.

1.      -am/ām, -em, -ēm, -om/ōm

2.      -ir/īr (-īrkaḷ, -mīr, -mīrkaḷ)

3.h.    -ar/ār, -or/ōr (-mar, -mār) (pl. -kaḷ, -arkaḷ/ārkaḷ)<sup>1</sup>

3.n.    -a/ai (pl. -kaḷ)

-amai            forming perfective verbal nouns

-āmai           forming negative verbal nouns

-ā/ātu          forming negative stems

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<sup>1</sup> The pl. suffix -kaḷ (in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person) can take a lengthened vocative form -kāl.



## 1.2. pronouns

personal      *yāṇ/(nāṇ) – eṇ, yām/nām – em /nam*  
                 *nī – nīṇ/(uṇ), nīr<sup>2</sup>, nīyir – num*  
                 *tāṇ – taṇ, tām – tam* (3<sup>rd</sup> person/reflexive)

demonstrative:    *i-, (u-), a-*  
interrogative      *e-/y-*  
indefinite          *-um*

## 1.3. adjectives (proper = nominal stem?; formans: *-a, -am*; position)

1	<i>nal-l-ā</i> (adj.)	good cow
2	<i>aruñ-curam</i> (> <i>arumai</i> )	difficult desert
3	<i>uṇar-varai</i> (verbal root)	high mountain
4	<i>kunṭu-nīr</i> (noun)	deep water
	<i>kāṇa maññai</i>	forest peacock
5	<i>kāla ... kuruku</i>	legged ... heron
6	<i>taṇṇam turaivaṇ</i>	cool ghat-he
	<i>kaḷḷiyam kāṭu</i>	Kaḷḷi <sup>am</sup> wilderness
[7	<i>periya</i>	big; modern form]

## 1.4. adverbs (pronominal adverbs of place, time and modus; suffix n.sg./n.pl.(-obl.); dat.(?); *-ē; eṇa*; inf., abs.)

- 1 *āṇṭu, īṅku, aṇṇaṇam, eṇṇum // naṇi*
- 2 *cīritu* (KT14.6), *nuṇṇitiṇ* (KT167.6), *eḷitaniṇ* (NA239.3); *kaṭiya* (KT194.3)
- 3 *naṅku?*
- 4 *vallē*
- 5 *taṇṇeṇa*
- 6 *mika; irappa* (NA 338.4)
- 7 *viraii* (KT 62.2)

## 1.5. numerals see anywhere; note: short and long forms, *sandhi* forms

## 1.6. ideophones [Chevillard 2004]

## 1.7. particles [Wilden 2006]

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<sup>2</sup> Very rare in the early texts, but attested once in NA 48.8.

## 2. Nominal Sentences

word-order: S O P

focalisation: particles

no copula, but occasional emphasis with verb of existence

NA 400 *evan pīlapp' unṭō* what mistake it-is<sup>ō</sup>

KT 207.1 *celavu aritu ākum enru* going difficult-it becoming- said

unmarked: noun to noun

KT 135.1f. *viṇaiyē āṭavarkk' uyirē vāḷ nutal*  
*maṇai urai makalirkk' āṭavar uyir*

labour<sup>e</sup> man(h.dat.) life<sup>e</sup> light forehead  
house remain- women(dat.) man(h.) life

KT 312.1 *iraṇṭ' ari kaḷvi nam katalōḷē*  
two know- robberess our(obl.) lady-love<sup>e</sup>

marked: noun to pronominal noun (as adj./denom.)

KT 18.5 *uyir tava ciṛitu kāmamō peritē*  
life very small-it desire<sup>ō</sup> big-it<sup>e</sup>

NA 101.5f. *turai naṇi irunta pākkamum urai naṇi*  
*iṇitumaṇ*  
ghat nearness been- village<sup>um</sup> staying much  
pleasant-it<sup>man</sup>

KT 12.4 *kavalaitt' enpa avar cenra āṛē*  
crossroad-it they-say he(h.)- gone- way<sup>e</sup>

[verbal sentence/pronominal noun

KT 325.4 *yāṇṭ' uḷaṇ kollō* where he-is<sup>kollō</sup>

KT 379.1 *iṇr(u) yāṇṭaiyaṇō tōḷi* today where-he<sup>ō</sup> friend]

pronominal nouns – participial nouns – finite verbs

formation of participial nouns

imperfective:	1	root- <i>v/p/pp</i> -pron. suff.
	2	root- <i>v/p/pp</i> -pronoun (late?)
	3	root- <i>un</i> -pron. suff.
	4	root- <i>um</i> -pron.suffix/pronoun (late?)
perfective:	1	root- <i>nt/t/iy/in/tt</i> -pron.(/pronoun)
	2	root- <i>nt/nr-icin</i> -pron. suff. (not 4 <sup>th</sup> + 11 <sup>th</sup> class)

possible palatisation after *-i* and *-ai*: *aṛiñnar*

formation of pronominal nouns: noun/adjective(-obl.)-pron.suff.

[Lehmann 2004]

	<i>nāṭu</i> land	<i>celvam</i> prosperity	<i>aṛam</i> duty	<i>vaṇṇam</i> colour
stem	<i>nāṭaṇ</i>	<i>celvar</i>	<i>aṛavaṇ</i>	<i>vaṇṇaṇ</i>
oblique st.	<i>nāṭṭaṇ</i>	[ <i>celvattar</i> ]	<i>neñcatta/āṇ</i>	
oblique suff.	[ <i>nāṭṭinaṇ</i> ]	[ <i>celvattiṇar</i> ]	<i>mukattiṇaḷ</i>	

*kāṭalar* – *kāṭalōr* (poem end)

productive words (forms attested in KT/NA/AN)

noun		adjective		
<i>aṇpu</i> love		<i>ila(m)</i> young		
<i>aṇpiṇai</i>	2.sg.			
<i>āṇpiṇaṇ</i>	3.m.		<i>ilaṇḍōṇ</i>	
			<i>ilaṇḍōḷ</i>	
<i>aṇpiṇar</i>	3.h.	<i>ilaṇḍar</i>	<i>ilaṇḍōr</i>	<i>ilaṇḍavar</i> (full pronoun)
<i>aṇpiṇa</i>	n.pl.			

defective stem (verbal? nominal?)

*uṭai-* possess-

<i>uṭaiyēṇ</i>	1.sg.	
<i>uṭaiyai</i>	2.sg.	<i>uṭaiyōy</i>
<i>uṭaiyaḷ</i>	f.sg.	
<i>uṭaiyaṇ</i>	m.sg.	
<i>uṭaiyatu</i>	n.sg.	
<i>uṭaiyam</i>	1.pl.	
<i>uṭaiyīr</i>	2.pl.	
<i>uṭaiyar</i>	3.h.	<i>uṭaiyōr</i>
<i>uṭaiya</i>	n.pl.	

types of relation:

<i>celvan</i>	he who is prosperous
<i>muṭiyinaḷ</i>	she who has a hair knot
<i>nāṭaṇ</i>	he who is from a country
<i>aḷiyaḷ</i>	she who is to be pitied
<i>aṟavar</i>	they who adhere to duty

<i>periyar</i>	the who are big
<i>munṇar</i>	the who are before

special feminine suffix:

<i>tōḷi</i>	she who has a shoulder (post- <i>Caṅkam</i> )
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### 3. Attribution

(noun, pronominal n., participial n., pronoun, adjective, adverb)

word-order: S O P with left-branching attribution

marked relation (obl.)

KT 24.1	<i>karum kāl vēmpin oḷ pū yāṇar</i>
	black leg Neem-tree <sup>in</sup> bright flower freshness

marked relation (adj. suff.)

KT 16.5	<i>am kāl kaḷḷiyam kāṭu</i>	pretty leg Kallī <sup>am</sup> wilderness
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marked relation (possessive, pron.n.)

KT 56.3	<i>vaḷaiyuṭai kaiyaḷ</i>	bangle possess- hand-she
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unmarked relation (ambiguous)

KT 286.4	<i>peru amar maḷai kaṇ koṭicci</i>
	big beauty rain eye creeper-she

bracketed relation (asymmetrical)

KT 15.4f.	<i>āy kaḷal</i>	
	<i>cē ilai veḷ vēl viṭalai</i>	
		select- anklet
		red leaf white spear warrior

bracketed relation (symmetrical)

KT 101.4f.	<i>pu pōl uṇ kaṇ poṇ pōl mēṇi</i>	
	<i>māṇ vari alkul kuru makaḷ</i>	
		flower similar collyrium eye gold similar body
		fame line hip short daughter

minimal string

KT 2.1      *koṇku tēr vālkkai am cīrai tumpi*  
pollen search- livelihood pretty wing bee

comparison

KT 23.2f.    *maṇavu kōpp' aṇṇa nal neṭum kūntal*  
*akaval makaḷē*

chank-bead string like good long tresses  
Akaval woman<sup>e</sup>

adverbs

KT 37.1 *nacai perit' uṭaiyar*      longing big-it possess-he(h.)

adverbial phrase of place

KT 138.2f.    *em il ayalat' ēḷil umpar* | ... nocci

our- house neighbourhood-it Ēḷil(-hill) beyond | ... Nocci-tree

## 8. String Attribution

(mixed nominal and verbal forms)

all the former plus infinitive and both sorts of *peyareccam* constructions  
subject apposition  
comparison/simile

i.a. verbal root + *peyareccam* + *absolutive*

KT 88.2f. *cīru kaṇ perum kaḷīru vayam puli tākki*  
*tol muraṇ cōrum tuṇṇ' arum cāral*

little eye big elephant-bull strength tiger attacked  
old antagony diminishing- approach- difficult slope

p.a. *peyareccam* + infinitive + comparison

KT 35.2-5 *cinai pacum pāmpin cūl mutirpp' anna*  
*kanaitta karumpin kūmpu poti avīla*  
*nuṇ urai aḷi tuḷi talaiiya*  
*taṇvaral vāṭai*

twig green snake<sup>in</sup> egg ripeness like  
ripened- sugar-cane<sup>in</sup> close- bud open  
fine drip- perish- drop offered-  
cool coming north wind

i.a. *pey.* + *abs.* + *caus.*

KT 69.1-5 *karum kaṇ tā kalai perum pīrit' urreṇa*  
*kaimmai uyyā kāmar manti*  
*kallā val paraḷ kiḷai-mutal cērtti*  
*ōṅku varai aṭukkattu pāynt' uyir cekukkum*  
*cāral nāṭa*

black eye rushing male-monkey big other-it had-because  
widowhood escape-not desire female-monkey  
learn-not strong young-one horde(loc.) united  
high mountain mountain-side- sprung life destroying-  
slope land-he(voc.)

i.a. *pey.* + comparison + *inf.* + *caus.*

KT 139.1-5 *maṇai urai kōḷi kuṇum kāl pēṭai*  
*vēli veruk' iṇam mālai urreṇa*  
*pukum iṭaṇ aṇiyātu tokup' uṭaṇ kuḷīiya*  
*paital piḷḷai kiḷai payirnt' āaṅk'*  
*iṇṇāt icaikkum ampāl*

house remain- fowl short leg she-bird  
hedge wild-cat group evening had-because

entering- place know-not gathered together crowd(inf.)  
trouble child relations called like  
unpleasant-it sounding- calumny

subject apposition

KT 285.1-3 *vaikal vaikal vaikavum vārār*  
*ellā ellai ellaiyum tōṇrār*  
*yāṇṭṭ' uḷar-kollō tōḷi*

day day being-kept(inf.)<sup>um</sup> come-not-he(h.)  
all daylight edge<sup>um</sup> appear-not-he(h.)  
where he-is(h.)<sup>kollō</sup> friend

comparison

KT 160.1-5 *neruppiṇ aṇṇa cem talai aṇṇil*  
*iraviṇ aṇṇa koṭu vāy peṭaiyoṭu*  
*taṭaviṇ ḍṇku ciṇai kaṭciyiṇ pirintōr*  
*kai ara naralum naḷḷeṇ yāmattu*

fire<sup>in</sup> like red head Aṇṇil(-bird)  
prawn<sup>in</sup> like curved mouth female-bird-with  
tree(?)<sup>in</sup> high twig nest<sup>in</sup> separated-they(h.)  
action end calling- deep(id.)- midnight-

NA 190.5-7 *vaṇṭu mūcu neytal nel iṭai malarum*  
*ariyalam kaḷaṇi ārkkāṭṭ' aṇṇa*  
*kāmar paṇai tōḷ*

bee swarm- blue-water-lily rice middle blossoming-  
nectar<sup>am</sup> field Ārkkāṭu(p.n. of a town)- like  
desire bamboo shoulder

simile

KT 40.4f. *cem pulam peyal nīr pōla*  
*aṇṭp' uṭai neṇcam tām kalantaṇavē.*

red soil raining water be-similar  
love possess- heart self(pl.) they-mingled(n.pl.)<sup>e</sup>

## 14. Denominative

(pronominal noun optionally with special mark: *ūraṇ/ūrāṇ*)

adhoc = literary forms

KT 7.1f. *villōṇ kālāṇa kalalē toṭiyōḷ*  
*mel aṭi mēlavum cilampē*

bow-he leg-they(n.pl.) anklet<sup>ē</sup> armlet-she  
tender foot above-they(n.pl.)<sup>um</sup> tinkling-anklet<sup>ē</sup>

KT 97.3 *turaivoṇ tam ūrāṇē* ghat-he self- village-he<sup>ē</sup>

KT 242.1-4 *kāṇam kōḷi kavara kural cēval*  
*oḷ porī eruntin taṇ citara uṇaiṇ*  
*putal nīr vārum pū nāru puraviṇ*  
*cīr' ūrōḷē maṭantai*

forest fowl seize- voice cock  
bright spot neck<sup>in</sup> cool drop drip(inf.)  
shrub water overflowing- flower smell- woodland<sup>in</sup>  
little village-she<sup>ē</sup> girl

NA 59.6-8 *val pulam kāṭṭu nāṭṭatu-ē aṇpu kalantu*  
*namvayin purinta koḷkaiyoṭu neṇcatt'*  
*uḷḷinaḷ uṇaiṇōḷ ūrē*

hard field wilderness- land-it<sup>ē</sup> love mingled  
us(loc.) desired- principle-with heart-  
inside-she remain-she village<sup>ē</sup>

KT 51.3f. *cērppaṇai | yāṇum katalēṇ*  
*coast-he(acc.) | I<sup>um</sup> love-I*

forming paradigms (*aḷi, uṭai*)

KT 30.6 *tamiyēṇ-manṇa aḷiyēṇ yāṇē*  
alone-I<sup>manṇa</sup> pity-I I<sup>ē</sup>

KT 212.4f. *aḷitō tāṇē kāmam*  
*viḷivatu-manṇa nōkō yāṇē*

pity/love-it<sup>ō</sup> self<sup>ē</sup> desire  
perish-it<sup>manṇa</sup> I-ache<sup>ō</sup> I<sup>ē</sup>

(reference to NA 355.10 ipt. *aḷimati* not to v.r. *aḷi*, but to denom.?)



KT 206.5      *kuṛukal ōmpumiṇ aṛiv' uṭaiyīrē*  
nearing beware(ipt.) knowledge possess-you(pl.)<sup>ē</sup>

NA 183.6-8      *vayin-tōru*  
*iṇṇā talaikkum ūtaiyoṭ' ōrum*  
*num il pulampiṇ mālaiyum uṭaittē*

side-ever  
pleasant-not whipping- cold-wind-with listening-(?)  
your(pl.)- house loneliness<sup>in</sup> evening<sup>um</sup> possess-it<sup>ē</sup>

# Verbs

aspects: imperfective – perfective/inchoative

Finite and Non-finite Forms (general: the fluidity of category)

ambiguous forms (*v/p/pp* + pron. suff., *nt/t/iy/in/tt* + pron. suff.)

formation of finite verbs (*-ku-* infix for i.a., *-aṇ-* infix for p.a.)

marking of finite verbs (particle, position)

the concept of *murreccam* (an additional finite form within a sentence)

**[-aṇ- as a possible infix: i.a.? AN 16.14 *viraiṇaṇaḷ*]**

the suffixes (almost identical to the pronominal suff.)

sg.

- |      |              |            |
|------|--------------|------------|
| 1.   | -eṇ/-ēṇ, -aṇ |            |
| 2.   | -i, -āy, -ai | // -oy/-ōy |
| 3.m. | -aṇ/-āṇ,     | // -on/-ōṇ |
| 3.f. | -aḷ/-āḷ      | // -ol/-ōḷ |
| 3.n. | -(a)tu       |            |

pl.

- |      |                     |            |
|------|---------------------|------------|
| 1.   | -am/-ām, -em, -ēm,  | // -om/-ōm |
| 2.   | -ir/-īr             |            |
| 3.h. | -ar/-ār, (pl. -kaḷ) | // -or/-ōr |
| 3.n. | -a/-ai, -avai       |            |

additional forms:

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| 1.sg. i.a.        | v.r.-asp. infix- <i>al</i>   |
| (1.pl. p.a.       | v.r.-asp. infix- <i>ikum</i> NA 20.1 <i>kaṇṭikum</i> we-saw)                   |
| 3.pl.(h./n.) i.a. | v.r.- <i>pa</i> , (v.r.- <i>mār</i> NA 208.6 <i>nōṇmār</i> he-suffered)        |
| 3.sg. (m./f./n.)  | v.r.- <i>um</i> (habitual future = identical with the i.a. <i>peyareccam</i> ) |

## Types of Clauses

[Zvelebil 1967]

#### 4. Absolutive/Co(n)verb/Verbal Participal/Vinaiyeccam

changing or not changing the subject (theoretically the latter)

types: perfective stem + -u (exception: 5<sup>th</sup> class ending in -i)

[special form for 5<sup>th</sup> class ending in -uvu: *aḷapeṭai*

*taḷuvu: taḷīi, taḷīiya]*

verbal root + (p)pu

(verbal root + -ā/-ātu)

verbal root + -ū (very rare: NA 242.10 *tēṭūu niṇṇa iralai ēṛē;*

Pati 13.11 *kūrṛu aṭūu niṇṇa yākkai pōla)*

neg. verbal root + -ā/-ātu

verbal root + -āmal (later; from Kali on)

verbal root + -āmai (intermittent formation; stray form in Kali)

classical

KT 69.2-4     *manti | kallā val paṛaḷ kiḷai-mutal cērtti*  
*ōṇku varai aṭukkattu pāynt' uyir cekukkum*

female-monkey | learn-not strong young-one horde(loc.) united  
high mountain mountain-side- sprung life destroying-

subject open

KT 4.2,4     ...     *kaṇṇīr tāṇki*  
                  ...     *nōm eṇ neñcē.*  
  
                  ...     eye-water endured  
                  ...     aches my- heart<sup>ē</sup>

ambiguous relation

KT 21.1-4     *vaṇṭu paṭa tatainta koṭi iṇar iṭaiyiṭupu*  
*poṇ cey punai ilai kaṭṭiya makalir*  
*katuppiṇ tōṇṇum putu pūm koṇrai | kāṇam ...*

bee happen(inf.) been-full- creeper cluster between placed  
gold make- adorn- ornament tied- women  
hair<sup>in</sup> appearing- new flower Laburnum(-tree) | forest

change of subject (embedding)

KT 34.2f.     *tamiyar uraṇkum kauvai iṇṇ' āy*  
*iṇiyatu kēṭṭ' iṇp' uruka i ūrē*

alone-they(h.) slumbering- affliction is-not become(abs.)  
pleasant-it heard joy may-have this- village<sup>ē</sup>

change of subject

KT 88.2f. *ciṛu kaṇ perum kaḷiṛu vaya puli tākki*  
*tol muraṇ cōrum tunṇ' arum cāral*

little eye big elephant-bull strength tiger attacked  
old antagony diminishing- approach- difficult slope

NA 369.1 *cuṭar ciṇam taṇintu kuṇṛam cēra*  
sun anger decreased hill join(inf.)

typical

NA 328.1-3 *kiḷaṅku kiḷ vīḷntu tēṇ mēl tūṅki*  
*cil cila vittu pal pala viḷaintu*  
*tiṇai kiḷi katiyum perum kal nāṭaṇ*

bulbous-root below descended honey above hung  
few few(n.pl.) sown many many(n.pl.) ripened  
millet parrot chasing-away- big stone land-he

comparison clause (cf. KT 53 for abs. + *aṇṇa*)

KT 18.4f. *ciṛu kōṭṭu perum paḷam tūṅki yāṅk' iṅaḷ*  
*uyir tava ciṛitu kāmamō peritē.*

small twig big fruit hung like she-  
life very small-it desire<sup>o</sup> big-it<sup>e</sup>

causal clause

KT 42.2f. *karuvi mā maḷai vīḷnteṇa aruvi*  
*viṭar akatt' iyampum ...*

amount big rain fallen-because waterfall  
cave inside- sounding-

## 5. Infinitive(/Absolutive) (different types = modalities?)

changing the subject (mostly)

types: *-a* added to the stem according to class; most frequent; mostly consecutive (so that) or simultaneous (while), occasionally causal or final, rarely cond.

<i>-iya</i>	(mostly with <i>aḷapeṭai iiya</i> )	hom. to opt.
<i>-iyar</i>	(mostly <i>īiyar</i> ) often final	hom. to opt.
<i>-mār</i>	not so frequent	
[ <i>-vāṇ/p/pāṇ</i> rarely if ever in the old texts hom. to i.a. m.sg.]		

KT 114.3      *cela viyam koṇmō*      go(inf.) order take(ipt.)

so that

KT 65.1-3      *val paral teḷ aral parukiya iralai taṇ*  
*iṇp' uru tuṇaiyoṭu maruvant' ukaḷa*  
*tāṇ vantaṇṇē taḷi taru taṇ kār*

hard pebble become-clear- water drunk- Iralai[-deer] own-  
 joy have- companion-with mixed-up jump(inf.)  
 self it-came<sup>e</sup> drip- give- cool rainy-season

while/as

KT 195.1      *cuṭar ciṇam taṇintu kuṇṇam cēra*  
*paṭar cumant' elutaru paiyuḷ mālai*  
*yāṇṇ' uḷar-kollō*

sun anger decreased hill join(inf.)  
 affliction laden rise- give- sorrow evening  
 where he-is(h.)<sup>kollō</sup>

that (indirect speech)

KT 24.5f.      ...      *koṭiyōr nāvē*  
*kātalar akala kalleṇṇravvē*

...      cruel-they tongue<sup>e</sup>  
 lover(h.) depart(inf.) 'kal'-they-said(n.pl.)<sup>e</sup>

when/if

KT 127.4f.      *oru nin pāṇaṇ poyyaṇ āka*  
*uḷḷa pāṇar ellām*

one your- bard liar become(inf.)  
 be(pey.) bard(h.) all

since

KT 212.1-3 *koṇkaṇ ūrnta koṭuñci neṭum tēr*  
*teḷ kaṭal aṭai karai teḷi maṇi olippa*  
*kāṇa vantū*

man-from-the-sea(?) mounted- handle long chariot  
clear sea settle- shore clear bell sound(inf.)  
see(inf.) come

-iya

KT 269.4-6 *yāyūm*  
*uppai māri veḷ nel tarīya*  
*uppu viḷai kaḷaṇi cenṛaṇaḷ*

mother<sup>um</sup>  
salt(acc.) exchanged white rice give(inf.)  
salt ripen- field she-went

-iyar

KT 27.4f. *pacalai uṇṭiyar vēṇṭum*  
*titalai alkul eṇ māmai kavine*

pallor eat(inf.) is-necessary  
beauty-spot hip my- blackness beauty<sup>e</sup>

-mār

KT 155.5f. *mālai naṇi virunt ayarmār*  
*tēr varum*

evening abundant feast be-engaged-in(inf.)  
chariot coming-

[-vāṇ

Pari 7.57 *avaḷai kai piṇai nīkkuvāṇ pāyvāḷ*  
she(acc.) hand link remove(inf.) jump-she]

not changing the subject

KT 285.1-3 *vaikal vaikal vaikavum vārār*  
*ellā ellai ellaiyum tōṇrār*  
*yāṇṭ' uḷar-kollō tōḷi*

day day being-kept(inf.)<sup>um</sup> come-not-he(h.)  
all daylight edge<sup>um</sup> appear-not-he(h.)  
where he-is(h.)<sup>kollō</sup> friend

## 6. Peyareccam p.a./Peyareccam i.a. – Hab. Fut./Temporal Clauses

pey. p.a. governing clauses, but short ones, attributive  
 -um pey. usually governing clauses, exceptionally attributive

attributive

KT 77.3      *uḷanta vampalar*      died- traveller(h.)

KT 35.3      *kaṇaitta karumpin*      ripened- sugar-cane<sup>in</sup>

minor clauses

KT 86.1      *cīrai paṇi uṭainta cē ari maḷai kaṇ*  
 check- dew broken- red streak rain eye

KT 79.1f.      *kāṇam yāṇai tōl nayanant' uṇṭa*  
*pori tāḷ ōmai vaḷi poru neṭum ciṇai*  
 forest elephant skin longed- eaten-  
 be-parched- foot Ōmai(-tree) wind beat- long twig

KT 348.2f.      *pulam tēr yāṇai kōṭṭ' iṭai oḷinta*  
*cīru vī mullai kompin*  
 field search- elephant horn(obl.) middle stayed-behind-  
 little blossom jasmine twig<sup>in</sup>

adverbial clauses of time with *pey. p.a.* (i.a. also possible)

KT 25.5      *kurukum uṇṭu tāṇ maṇanta ṇāṇrē*  
*heron<sup>um</sup> it-is he united-time<sup>e</sup>*

adverbial clauses of manner with *pey. p.a.* (i.a. also possible; late)

AinAim 26.1+4      *peru nakai ākinrē ... iṭar urṟavāru.*  
 big laughter it-became<sup>e</sup> ... affliction had-way

i.a. attributive

KT 58.1      *iṭikkum kēḷir*      admonishing- relatives/friends

i.a. minor clause

KT 143.2      *paḷiyum aṇcum payam malai nāṭaṇ*  
 blame<sup>um</sup> fearing- yield mountain land-he

i.a. relative clause

KT 25.3-5     *tiṇai tāḷ aṇṇa ciṟu pacum kāla*  
*oḷuku nīr āral pārkkum | kuruku*

millet foot like small green legged  
flow- water Āral(-fish) looking- | heron

i.a. adverbial clause of place

KT 38.1-3     *kāṇam mañṇai arai iṇ muṭṭai*  
*veyil āṭu mucuviṇ kurulai uruṭṭum*  
*kunṛam nāṭaṇ*

forest peacock rock bring-forth egg  
sunlight play- langur<sup>in</sup> young-one rolling-  
hill land-he

i.a. ambiguous relations

KT 8.1f.     *kaḷaṇi māttu viḷaint' uku tīm paḷam*  
*paḷaṇa vāḷai katūum ūraṇ*

paddy-field mango-tree(obl.) ripened shed- sweet fruit  
pond Vāḷai(-fish) seizing- village-he

i.a. adverbial clause of time

KT 141.3-7     *kollai*  
*neṭum kai val māṇ kaṭum pakai uḷanta*  
*kuṟum kai irum puli kōḷ val ēṟrai*  
*paṇi kaṇ cem-nāy paṭu patam pārkkum*  
*ar' iruḷ naṭu-nāḷ varuti*

clearing  
long hand strong stag fierce enmity borne-  
short hand dark tiger taking strong male  
green eye red dog happen- carcas looking-  
difficult darkness middle day you-come(sub.)

*tōṇṛum* comparison clause

KT 47.1f.     *karum kāl vēṅkai vī uku tuṟu kal*  
*irum puli kurulaiyiṇ tōṇṛum kāṭṭ' iṭai*

black leg Vēṅkai blossom shed- thick stone  
dark/big tiger young<sup>in</sup> appearing- wilderness middle

peyareccam + noun as conjunction forming temporal and modal clauses:  
-ñāṇru, -kāl, -iṭai; -paṭi, -āru...



hab.fut. and *-um pey*. only distinguishable by syntax (at times both possible)  
hab.fut. for all sg. persons (m./f./n.) and n.pl.

m.sg.

KT 8.6      *mēvaṇa ceyyum taṇ putalvaṇ tāykkē*  
wish-they(n.pl.) doing- self- son mother(dat.)<sup>ē</sup>

f.sg.

KT 45.4      *maṇuvarum ciṇuvaṇ tāyē*  
being-upset- little-he mother<sup>ē</sup>

n.pl.

KT 193.6      *iṇṇu mullai mukai nārumē*  
today jasmine bud they-are-fragrant<sup>ē</sup>

n.sg. (or pey.)

KT 4.1      *nōm eṇ neñcē nōm eṇ neñcē*  
aches my heart<sup>ē</sup> aches my heart<sup>ē</sup>

KT 6.3f.      *naṇam talai ulakamum tuṇcum*  
*ōr yāṇ-manṇra tuṇcātēṇē*

wide place world<sup>um</sup> sleeping-  
one I<sup>manṇra</sup> sleep-not-I<sup>ē</sup>

## 7.a Verbal Roots for *Peyareccam*, (Infinitive, Verbal Noun, *Vinaiyeccam*)

often simply attributive (= *pey.* without temporal/aspectual impact?)  
 also clause-governing, but mostly no more than 3 elements: N<sup>1</sup>-v.r.-N<sup>2</sup>  
 [Jean-Luc's thesis: complementarity between marked and unmarked syntax]  
 [Chevallard 2007]  
 used with some auxiliaries like *taru*  
 used with *torum*: KT 9.5 *ōtal malku-torum* flood increase-ever

attributive without aspectual impact:	<i>ōñku malai</i>	be-high- mountain
attributive for <i>pey.</i> p.a.:	<i>paku vāy</i>	split- mouth
attributive for <i>pey.</i> : KT 299.4	<i>puṇar kuṛi</i>	unite- sign

minimal clause for <i>pey.</i> p.a.		
KT 79.2	<i>vaḷi poru neṭum ciṇai</i>	wind beat- long branch
KT 118.3	<i>palar puku vāyil</i>	many(h.) enter- door

minimal clause for <i>pey.</i>		
KT 7.6	<i>vēy payil aluvam</i>	bamboo rustle- thicket
KT 150.3	<i>cāntu pular akalām</i>	sandal dry- chest

[clause-governing  
 KT 53.3 *vēlaṇ puṇainta veri ayaṛ kaḷam-torum*  
 spear-he practised- Veri-dance immerse- floor-ever

KT 163.1-5 *pūliyar*  
*ciṛu talai vēḷḷai tōṭu parant' anṇa*  
*mīṇ āṛ kurukiṇ kāṇalam perun turai*  
*veḷ vī tālai tirai alai*  
*naḷḷen kaṅkulum*

Pūliyar(h.)  
 little head goat(?) multitude spread like  
 fish become-full- wader(?)<sup>in</sup> seashore-grove- big ghat  
 white blossom Tālai(-tree) wave slap-  
 deep(id.)- night<sup>um</sup>]

for infinitive		
KT 256.7	<i>nīr vilaṅku alutal</i>	water obstruct- crying
KT 70.5	<i>aṇai melliyaḷ</i>	touch- soft-she
KT 132.5	<i>tāy kāṇ viruppiṇ</i>	mother see yearning <sup>in</sup>
KT 398.8	<i>kaṇ kalil uku paṇi</i>	eye dim- shed- dew

for verbal noun (KT 344.7 <i>peṛal arum poruḷ</i> obtaining difficult wealth)		
KT 88.3	<i>tunṇ' arum cāral</i>	approach- difficult slope
KT 304.3	<i>tāṅk' arum nīr curam</i>	endure- difficult water desert

for *viṇaiyeccam*

KT 86.2      *porai arum nōyoṭu pulamp' alai kalaṅki*  
burden(?) difficult pain-with loneliness slap- stirred

KT 134.5      *katal vīl aruvi* haste- descend- waterfall

?

KT 63.2      *cey viṇai*      “the work to be done”

NA 24.8      *cey poruḷ*      “the wealth to be made”

## **7.b Verbal Nouns**

short form homonym to negative imperative

-al/(t)tal      verbal complement; attributive?; clause-governing?  
- alin/(t)talīn      temporal/conditional clauses: when, upon  
- amai/-amaiyīn      perfective verbal noun (v.r.-p.a.-amai-y-iṇ)  
- (a)tu      perf./imperf. n.sg. (*ceytatu/ceyvatu*) as finite form

noun: *uṇaṅkal*      drying (= something dry as fish or corn)  
         *paital*      suffering

nomen actionis

KT 353.3      *āṭutal inītē*      playing pleasant-it<sup>e</sup>

verbal complement

KT 79.8      *akaral valluvōrē*      departing able-he(h.)<sup>e</sup>

final especially if marked as dative

KT 100.7      *maṇattark' ariya paṇai perum tōlē*  
uniting(dat.) difficult-they(n.pl.) bamboo big shoulder<sup>e</sup>

attributive

KT 79.3      *alaṅkal ulavai*      swaying twig

KT 35.5      *taṇ varal vāṭai*      cool coming north wind

KT 28.4      *alamaral acai vaḷi*      whirling move- wind

[figura etymologica

KT 276.4      *aṛitalum ariyār*      knowing<sup>um</sup> know-not-they(h.)]

temporal clause

KT 355.1f.      *peyal kaṇ maraittalīn vicumpu kāṇalaiyē*  
         *nīr parant oḷukalīn nilam kāṇalaiyē*

raining eye hiding<sup>in</sup> sky you-don't-see<sup>e</sup>

water spread flowing<sup>in</sup> ground you-don't-see<sup>e</sup>

[other cases

KT 305.4      *kaḷaitalai avar āṟṟalarē* removing(acc.) he(h.) able-not-he(h.)<sup>e</sup>]

perfective verbal noun

NA 282.4      *kāṭalan̄ tantamai aṟiyātu*      lover having-given know-not

KT 92.2,5

*paravai*  
*irai koṇṭamaiyiṇ̄ viraiyumāl celavē*

bird

food having-taken<sup>in</sup> hurrying-<sup>al</sup> going<sup>e</sup>

n.sg. verbal noun

NA 272.9

*ampal mut' ūr aṟintatu*  
*nōy ākin̄ratu nōyiṇ̄um perit'-ē.*

rumour old village knowing  
pain became-it pain<sup>inum</sup> big-it<sup>e</sup>.

PārataVenpā 172.2f.

*ceruvil | valiyār valiyār āy maṇ āḷvatu*

fight(loc.) | strength-they(h.) strength-they(h.) become(abs.) earth ruling

## Verbal sentences

### 9. The Aspectual System and the Moods

imperfective – perfective/inchoative aspect indicative [Deigner 1998]

'present'? – late (developed from auxiliary *kil* "to be able to")  
the intermediate *kil*-forms in Kali, Kīlkaṇṇku and bhakti

verbal classes and morphological causative (post-*Caṅkam*)

imperative (2<sup>nd</sup> person)

1. verbal root	KT 11.4 <i>eḷu</i>	rise!	
pl: v.r. + -īr	Tēv. 2.2.8 <i>colīr</i>	speak!	post- <i>Caṅkam</i>
2. - <i>m-ō/-ē/ena</i>	KT 2.2 <i>moḷimō</i>	speak!	
	KT 273.8 <i>teḷimē</i>	let it be clear / understand!	
3. - <i>miṇ</i>	KT 184.2 <i>ōmpumiṇ</i>	beware!	
- <i>īmiṇ</i>	Cilap. 21.40 <i>kēṭṭīmiṇ</i>	listen!	(rare and late)
4. - <i>mati</i>	KT 19.3 <i>aḷimati</i>	despair!	
5. - <i>āy</i>	KT 390.1 <i>kēḷāy</i>	hear!	(hom. to neg. 2.sg.)
(6. - <i>i</i> )	formula: <i>vāli tōli</i>	live, friend!	
7. v.r. + - <i>um</i>	<i>ceyyum</i>	do!	post- <i>Caṅkam</i>

note: -*kaḷ(ē)* may be added to type 1b and 3: *uraiyīrkaḷ* (TVM 9.7.3)  
*arimiṇkaḷē* (PK 201.4)

[p.a.: NA 321.8 *ceṇrika* go!  
NA 221.12 *vantika* come!]

neg.: 1. v.r.-*al* KT 179.3 *cellal* hom. to verbal noun  
2. neg.stem-*īm(-ō/-ē/ēṇa)* KT 390.2 *cellātīmō* don't-go!  
3. v.r.+*-ēl* TVM 10.3.8 *pōkēl* (late old Tamil)  
[4. v.r.+*al+miṇ* Cīv. 799.4 *tunṇaṇmiṇ* don't approach!]

note: in a transitional phase -*ēl* can be added to a finite form:  
*collutumēl* (PK 297.1)

optative (all persons)

1. - <i>iya</i>	KT 19.3 <i>vāliya</i>	may-live	(hom. to inf.)
2. - <i>iyar</i>	KT 169.2 <i>iṇṭiyarō</i>	may-break <sup>o</sup>	(hom. to inf.)

[? -*iyam* TV 55.2 *uraikkiyam* we will tell?]

neg. opt.

(v.r.-*al-mār* 3.h.? NA 64.13 *kāṇaṇmār* may-they-not-see)

optative?: verbal root-p.a.-*icin*

used predominantly for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>, but occasionally also for 3<sup>rd</sup> person

KT 63.2      *uraitticiṇ neñcē*

  speak(opt.) heart<sup>ē</sup>

KT 216.3f.    *yāñē ... paṭar kūrnticiṇē*

  I<sup>ē</sup> ... affliction I-have-abundance<sup>ē</sup>

subjunctive (merging into the “modern” optative in -ka for all persons)  
two incomplete, but complementary paradigms  
[Chevallard 1991]

1.sg. -ku/kku	KT 25.2 <i>yāṇ evaṇ ceykō</i> I what can-do <sup>o</sup>
2.sg. -ti/tti	KT 63.4 <i>emmai uyttiyō ... neñcē</i> us(acc.) you-will-send <sup>o</sup> ... heart <sup>e</sup>
3.sg. -ka	KT 111.5f. <i>nāṭaṇ   vallē varuka</i> land-he   strongly he-may-come
1.pl. -kam, -kum, -tum	KT 14.6 <i>nāṇukam ciṇitē</i> we-will-be-ashamed little-it <sup>e</sup> KT 163.5 <i>kēṭkum niṇ kuralē</i> we-can-hear your- voice <sup>e</sup> KT 40.3 <i>evvaḷi aṇitum</i> what- whay we-can-know
2.pl. -tir	KT 268.1 <i>cēṇirō</i> you-will-go <sup>o</sup>
3.pl. -ka	KT 170.1 <i>palarum kūruka</i> many(h.) <sup>um</sup> they-may-talk
neg.: v.r.-al-ka (= -arṇka) v.r.-ā-ti	KT 198.8 <i>varaṇka-tilla</i> may-not-come <sup>tilla</sup> AiAi 42.4 <i>citaiyāti</i> may you not waste

“modern” opt. forms

KT 14.2f.	<i>cil moḷi ariṇaiyai</i>	few word girl(acc.)
	<i>peruka-tillamma yāṇē</i>	may-obtain <sup>tillamma</sup> I <sup>e</sup>
KT 23.3	<i>akaval makaḷē pāṭuka pāṭṭē</i>	Akaval woman <sup>e</sup> may-sing song <sup>e</sup>

## 10. Coordination and Questions

-um (and) enclitic, coordinates not only nouns and clauses, but also sentences

-ē and interrogative pronoun

-ō (question of evaluation)

-kol (question of information)

kollō (rhetorical question)

-ē interrogative particle in bhakti texts

simple coordination

KT 17.1-4     mā ēna maṭalum ūrpa pū ēna  
                 kuvi mukil erukkam kaṇṇiyum cūṭupa  
                 maṛukiṇ ārkavum paṭupa  
                 piṛitum ākupa kāmam kālkkoliṇē

horse say Palmyra-stem<sup>um</sup> they-mount flower say  
heap- bud yarcum- chaplet<sup>um</sup> they-wear  
street<sup>in</sup> shout<sup>um</sup> they-happen  
other-it<sup>um</sup> they-become desire coming-to-a-climax-if<sup>ē</sup>

KT 31.4,6     yāṇum ōr āṭukaḷam makaḷē ...  
                 pīṭu kelu kuricilum ōr āṭukaḷam makaṇē

I<sup>um</sup> one dance- floor daughter<sup>ē</sup> ...  
excellence have- lord<sup>um</sup> one dance- floor son<sup>ē</sup>

KT 51.3-6                                     cērppaṇai  
                 yāṇum kātalen yāyūm naṇi veyya!  
                 entaiyum koṭṭiyar vēṇṭum  
                 ampāl ūrum avanoṭu molimē

coast-he(acc.)  
I<sup>um</sup> love-I my-mother<sup>um</sup> abundant hot-she  
my-father<sup>um</sup> give is-necessary / want(hab.fut.)  
calumny village<sup>um</sup> he-with speaking-<sup>ē</sup>

KT 113.1f.     ūrkkum aṇittē poykai poykaikku  
                 cēyttum aṇrē cīru kāṇ yārē

village(dat.)<sup>um</sup> close-it<sup>ē</sup> pond pond(dat.)  
distance-it<sup>um</sup> is-not-so<sup>ē</sup> little forest river<sup>ē</sup>

-um only on the second member

KT 62.4f.                     nallōl mēṇi  
                 muriyiṇum vāyvatu muyaṅkarkum iṇitē



good-she body  
shoot<sup>in<sub>um</sub></sup> it-surpasses embracing(dat.)<sup>um</sup> pleasant-it<sup>ē</sup>

KT 74.2f.,5 *kunram nāṭaṇ*  
*yām taṇ paṭarntamai aṇiyāṇ tānum ...*  
*cāyinaṇ enpa*

hill land-he  
we self- thought-we(acc.) he-doesn't-know self<sup>um</sup> ...  
he-was-emaciated they-say

asyndetic coordination

KT 161.1f.,4 *poḷutum el inru peyalum ḍvātu*  
*kalutu kaṇ paṇippa vīcum ataṇṇalai ...*  
*annā ennum annaiyum annō*

time<sup>um</sup> light is-not raining<sup>um</sup> stop-not-it  
demon eye shiver throwing- that(obl.+loc.) ...  
mother(voc.) saying- mother<sup>um</sup> alas!

interrogative pronoun

KT 158.6 *ikt' evanē* this what<sup>ē</sup>  
KT 18.3 *yār akt' aṇinticinōrē* who that known-they(h.)<sup>ē</sup>

int.pron. + focalisation

KT 140.4f. *evvam* trouble  
*yāṅk' aṇintaṇṇ' i aḷuṅkal ūrē* what it-knew this- noise village<sup>ē</sup>

-kol

KT 28.1 *muṭṭuvēṇkol tākkuvēṇkol* I-attack<sup>kol</sup> I-strike-against<sup>kol</sup>

KT 177.4f. *inr' avar* today he(h.)  
*varuvarkol vāḷi tōḷi* he-comes(h.)<sup>kol</sup> live friend

emphasis

KT 5.1 *atu-kol tōḷi kāma nōyē* that<sup>kol</sup> friend desire pain<sup>ē</sup>

-ō

KT 160.6 *iktō tōḷi nam kātalar varaiōē*  
this<sup>ō</sup> friend our- lover(h.) marriage<sup>ē</sup>

KT 36.6 *nōyō tōḷi niṇvayināṇē*

pain<sup>o</sup> friend your-side(loc.)<sup>e</sup>

KT 93.2f.

*avar namakk'*  
*annaiyum attanum allarō tōli*

he(h.) us(dat.)  
mother<sup>um</sup> father<sup>um</sup> is-not-so(h.)<sup>o</sup> friend

focalisation

KT 2.4f.

*arivai kūntaliṇ*  
*naṛiyavum ulaṇṇō nī ariyum pūvē*

young-woman tresses<sup>in</sup>  
fragrant-they(n.pl.)<sup>um</sup> they-are(n.pl.)<sup>o</sup> you knowing- flower<sup>e</sup>

either-or

KT 142.2f.

*pūm kaṇ pētai*  
*tāṇ arintanaḷō ilaḷō*

flower eye innocence  
self she-knew<sup>o</sup> not-she<sup>o</sup>

*kollō*

KT 16.1

*uḷḷār-kollō tōli* remember-not-he(h.)<sup>kollō</sup>

KT 279.4

*itu polut' ākavum vārār-kollō*  
this time become(inf.)<sup>um</sup> come-not-he(h.)<sup>kollō</sup>

KT 180.5

*eytiṇar-kollō poruḷē* he-obtained<sup>kollō</sup> wealth<sup>e</sup>

## 11. Embedded Clauses

the rule of one finite verb per sentence and its exceptions: double verb form, insertion, embedding [Steever 1988, 1993]

*eṇ* (*eṇ*, *eṇa*, *eṇru*, *eṇra*, finite forms, verba dicendi: direct speech, “iti”)

*āku* (*ā*, *āki/āy*, *āka*, *āya/ākiya*: attribution, “when”, “since”, “that”)

*pōl* (*pōl*, *pōṇru*, *pōla*, *pōṇra*, *pōlum* comparative clause)

direct speech(/thought)

KT 82.2      *aḷāal eṇru nam aḷuta kaṇ tuṭaippār*  
don't-cry said our- cried- eye wipe-he(h.)

KT 141.1-3      *vaḷai vāy ciṟu kiḷi viḷai tiṇai kaṭṭiyar*  
*celk(a) eṇrōḷē anṇai eṇa nī*  
*collin evaṇō tōḷi*

bangle mouth little parakeet ripen- millet chase(inf.)  
may-go said-she<sup>e</sup> mother say(inf.) you  
say-if what<sup>o</sup> friend

KT 187.5      *valiyaṇ ennātu meliyum eṇ neṇcē*  
hard-he say-not softening- my- heart<sup>e</sup>

other verbum dicendi

KT 148.6      *kaṇavō marr' itu viṇavuval yāṇē*      dream<sup>ōmarru</sup> this I-ask I<sup>e</sup>

“iti”

KT 17.1f.      *mā eṇa maṭalum ūrpa. pū eṇa*  
*kuvi mukiḷ erukkam kaṇṇiyum cūṭupa*

horse say Palmyra-stem<sup>um</sup> they-mount flower say  
heap- bud yarcum- chaplet<sup>um</sup> they-wear

[enumeration

KT 32.1-3      *kālaiyum pakalum kai aṟu mālaiyum*  
*ūr tuṇc(u) yāmamum viṭiyalum eṇr' i*  
*poḷut' iṭai teriyin poyyē kāmam*

morning<sup>um</sup> midday<sup>um</sup> action cease- evening<sup>um</sup>  
village sleep- midnight<sup>um</sup> dawn<sup>um</sup> said this-  
time-of-day between distinguish-if lie<sup>e</sup> desire]

when

KT 265.7f. *yāṇ tanakk' uraittanēn āka*  
*tān nāninan*

I self(dat.) I-told become(inf.)  
self he-was-ashamed

KT 172.3f. *emiyam āka iṅku turantōr*  
*tamiyar āka iṇiyar-kollō*

our-we become(inf.) here abandoned-he(h.)  
alone-he(h.) become(inf.) pleasant-he(h.)<sup>kollō</sup>

“since” (~ apposition)

NA 215.8f. *iṇru nī iṇṇai āki emmoṭu*  
*taṅkiṇ evaṇō teyya*

today you here-you become(abs.) us-with  
stay-if what<sup>ō</sup> teyya

subject change

KT 329.5,7 *payil iruḷ naṭunāl tuyil arit' āki ...*  
*nal malar malai kaṇṇir' eḷiyavāl paṇiyē*

rustle- darkness midnight sleep difficult-it become(abs.) ...  
good blossom rain eye(dat.) easy-they(n.pl.)<sup>āl</sup> dew<sup>ē</sup>

attribution (direct)

KT 181.1,7 *itu-marṛ' evaṇō tōḷi ...*  
*peru mutu peṇṭirēm ākiya namakkē*

this<sup>marṛu</sup> what<sup>ō</sup> friend ...  
big old women-we become(p.)- us(dat.)<sup>ē</sup>

attribution (indirect)

KT 178.5-7 *yām numakk'*  
*ariyam ākiya kālai*  
*periya nōṇraṇir.*

we you(dat.pl.)  
difficult-we become(p.)- time  
big-they(n.pl) you-suffered(pl.).

“that”

KT 386.4-6

*mālai*

*nilam parant' anna puṇkaṇoṭu*  
*pulamp' uṭaitt' ākutaḷ aṟiyēṇ yāṇē*

evening

ground spread like sorrow-with  
loneliness possess-it becoming I-don't-know I<sup>e</sup>

*pōl*

KT 147.3f.

*nuṇ pūṇ maṭantaiyai tantōy pōla*  
*iṇ tuyil eṭupputi kaṇavē*

fine ornament girl(acc.) given-you be-similar  
pleasant sleep you-arouse(sub.) dream<sup>e</sup>

## 12. Conditional (factual and hypothetical), Concessive, Causal clauses

verbal root + <i>-iṇ</i> (strong verbs + <i>-ppin</i> )	conditional
finite verb i.a./p.a. + <i>āyiṇ</i> (embedding)	
finite verb i.a./p.a. + <i>eṇiṇ</i> (embedding)	later
finite verb i.a./p.a. + <i>ākil</i> (embedding)	later (bhakti)
verbal root + <i>-il</i> (strong verbs in <i>ppil</i> )	transitional
(finite form + <i>-ēl/-āl</i> )	transitional
(abs. + <i>-ēl</i> )	transitional
(abs. + <i>-āl</i> PN)	post-Caṅkam up to modern

<i>āyinum</i> / (inf. + <i>um</i> ) / (abs. + <i>um</i> )	concessive
verbal root + <i>-v/p/pp -iṇum</i>	
finite verb i.a./p.a. + <i>āyinum</i> (embedding)	
finite verb i.a./p.a. + <i>eṇinum</i> (embedding)	later
finite verb i.a./p.a. + <i>ākilum</i> (embedding)	later (bhakti)
verbal root + <i>-v/p/pp-ilum</i>	transitional
abs. + <i>-ālum</i>	post-Caṅkam up to modern

<i>ākaliṇ/ātaliṇ</i>	causal clause
<i>āṇāl</i>	causal clause

impersonal

KT 102.1	<i>uḷḷiṇ uḷḷam vēmē</i>	remember-if inside burn(hab.fut.) <sup>e</sup>
----------	-------------------------	--

unmarked for subject

KT 280.4f.	<i>oru nāl puṇara puṇariṇ</i> <i>arai nāl vālkkaiyum vēṇṭalen yāṇē</i>
------------	---

one day unite(inf.) unite-if  
half day life<sup>um</sup> I-need-not I<sup>e</sup>

marked for subject

KT 316.2f.	<i>aṇṇai ariyiṇ   uḷeṇō vāli tōli</i> mother know-if   be-I <sup>o</sup> live(ipt.) friend
------------	---

KT 174.5f.	<i>poruḷvayiṇ pirivār āyiṇ i ulakattu</i> <i>poruḷē-manṇra poruḷē</i>
------------	--

wealth-for he-separates(h.) if this- world-  
wealth<sup>e</sup> manṇra wealth<sup>e</sup>

hypothetical

KT 148.5f.	<i>kār anr' eṇri āyiṇ</i> <i>kaṇavō marṇ' itu viṇavuval yāṇē</i>
------------	---

rainy-season is-not-so you-say(sub.) if  
dream<sup>ō marṛu</sup> this I-ask I<sup>e</sup>

past tense and hypothetical

KT 196.1f. *vēmpin̄ paim kāy en̄ tōli tarinē*  
*tēm pūm kaṭṭi en̄raṇir. in̄iyē ...*

KT 196.4f. *taii tiṅkaḷ taṇṇiya tarinum*  
*veyya uvarkkum en̄raṇir*

Neem-tree<sup>in</sup> fresh unripe-fruit my- friend give-if<sup>e</sup>  
honey flower sweets you-said(pl.) now<sup>e</sup> ...  
Tai moon cool-they(n.pl.) give-if-even  
hot-they(n.pl.) tasting-salty- you-said(pl.)

KT 274.8 *aṇi mulai ākam uḷkin̄am celiṇē*  
adorn- breast bosom we-remembered go-if<sup>e</sup>

subject clause

KT 98.1-3 *avar | tun̄na ceṇru ceppunar perinē*  
*nan̄ru-man̄ vāli tōli*

he(h.) | approach(inf.) gone saying-he(h.) obtain-if<sup>e</sup>  
good-it<sup>man</sup> live friend

*en̄in̄*

NA 334.8f. *min̄nu vaci viḷakkattu varum en̄in̄*  
*en̄-ō tōli nam in̄ uyir nilai-ē*

lightning split lamp- coming- say-if  
what<sup>o</sup> friend our- pleasant life state<sup>e</sup>

*-ēl*

AimAi 43.3f. *taṇ cērppaṇ tār akalam nalkumēl*  
*āliyaḷ kāṇāmō yām*

cool coast-he garland chest granting<sup>el</sup>  
ocean(inst.) see-not-we<sup>o</sup> we [topos: the ocean as witness]

AinAi 9.2 *uruki uṭaṇ āliya vēṇṭā teritiyēl*  
melted-with be-desolate(inf.) need-not(n.sg.) understand  
-you(sub)<sup>el</sup>

*-āl*

PN 390.24f. *nāṭaṇ*  
*kaṇṭāl koṇṭum avaṇ tiruntu aṭi vāḷtti*

land-he  
seen-if taken<sup>um</sup> he be-perfect- foot praised



concessive

KT 210.4,6 *eḷu kalatt' ēntiṇum ciṛit' eṇ tōḷi ...*  
*viruntu vara karainta kākkaiyatu paliyē*

seven pot- receive-if-even little-it my- friend ...  
guest come(inf.) cried- crow(gen.) offering<sup>ē</sup><sub>∞</sub>

KT 42.1,4 *kāmam oḷivat' āyiṇum ...*  
*em toṭarpum tēyumō*

desire ceasing-it if-even ...  
our- attachment<sup>um</sup> dwindling-<sup>ō</sup>

causal clause

NA 99.9f. *piṭavum koṇṛaiyum kōṭalum*  
*maṭava ākaḷiṇ malarntaṇa palavē*

large-flowered-jasmine<sup>um</sup> Laburnum<sup>um</sup> white-Malabar-lily<sup>um</sup>  
ignorant-they(n.pl.) because they-flowered(n.pl.) many(n.pl.)<sup>ē</sup>

[add an example of ānāl]

### 13. Negation

the two verbs of negation: *al* “not to be so” and *il* “not to be”  
(complementary to *iru* “to be present” and *uḷ* “to exist”)

KT 25.1 *yārum illai* who<sup>um</sup> is-not up to modern Tamil

<i>al</i> as an infix	v.r. - <i>al</i> -pron.suff.	
<i>il</i> as an infix	v.r.-p.a.- <i>il</i> -pron.suff.	post-Caṅkam
zero infix	v.r.-pron.suff.	
negative stem	v.r.-(y/v)-āt(u)-pron.suff.	
double verb forms	positive form + negative form	

-*al*

KT 290.2 *aṛiyalarkollō* know-not-they(h.)<sup>kollō</sup>

-*il* (seems to be perfectly normal from *bhakti* onwards)

[KT 113.3f. *irai tēr veḷ kuruk' allat(u) yāvatum*  
*tunṇal pōkiṇṛāl poḷilē*

prey search- white wader(?) not-so-it anything  
approaching it-doesn't-go<sup>al</sup> grove<sup>ē</sup>]

Pari. 9.25     *āyvantilar*                      research-not-they(h.)

zero

KT 200.4     *maṛantōṛ maṇṇa maṛavām nāmē*  
forgot-he(h.)<sup>manṇa</sup> we-don't-forget we<sup>e</sup>

neg. stem, long (more often neg. part.n.)

KT 6.4     *ōṛ yāṇ maṇṇa tuñcātēṇē*                      one I<sup>manṇa</sup> sleep-no-I<sup>e</sup>

neg. stem, short

KT 261.5f.                      *eṇ kaṇ*                      my- eye  
*tuñcā vāḷi tōḷi*                      sleep-not-they(n.pl.) live(ipt.) friend

### Special Constructions with *il*

negation of action (v.n.)

KT 168.6     *maṇattalum taṇattalum ilamē*                      uniting<sup>um</sup> departing<sup>um</sup> not-we<sup>e</sup>

negation of quality

NA 143.6     *vaḷu ilaḷ-amma tāṇē*                      fault not-she<sup>amma</sup> self<sup>e</sup>

negation of fact

NA 193.5     *tīt' aṛintaṇṇō ilamē*                      evil-it it-knew<sup>o</sup> not-we<sup>e</sup>

nominalisation

KT 93.4     *pulavi aḷt' evaṇō aṇp' ilam-kaṭaiyē*  
sulking that what<sup>o</sup> love not-we(loc.)<sup>e</sup>

KT 115.6     *nal malai nāṭa niṇ alat' ilaḷē*  
good mountain land-he(voc.) you- not-so-it not-she<sup>e</sup>

### impersonal construction with *ilam*?

TV 31.1     *tūt' eṇr' icaittāl icaiyilam*  
messenger said speak-if speak-absence

confusion between *il* and *al* (different interpretations possible)

NA 138.11     *aḷuṅkal mutu ūr aṛintaṇṇō iṇṇē*  
noise old village it-knew<sup>o</sup> not-it<sup>e</sup>

double verb forms with *al*

negation of pron.n.

KT 47.4     *nallai allai neṭu veḷ nilavē*  
good-you not-so-you long white moonlight<sup>e</sup>

past tense negation

AN 98.6      *aṛintanaḷ allaḷ*      she-knew not-so-she

verbal negation + neg. v.n.

NA 376.11f.    *vaṛum puṇam kāval viṭāmai*  
*aṛintanir allirō araṇ il yāyē*

poor field guarding letting-not  
you-knew(pl.) not-so-you(pl.)<sup>o</sup> duty-not mother<sup>e</sup>

modal

KT 224.6      *tuyar porukk' allēṇ*      misery I-bear(sub.) I-not-so

triple ambiguity

KT 52.5      *parintanen allanō*      I-sympathized not-so-I<sup>o</sup>/no-so-he<sup>o</sup>

double negation

KT 244.3      *kēlēṁ allēm. kēṭṭaṇam peruma*  
hear-not-we not-so-we we-heard great-one(voc.)

## 15. Double Verb Forms and Auxiliaries

insertions: verba dicendi/sentiendi, opt./ipt.

double verb forms (*cel*; later also *varu*)

*iru/uḷ/āku* (as double verb form: emphatic existence/presence)

*mur̥reccam*

insertion of verbum dicendi

KT 12.4      *kavalaitt' eṇpa avar ceṇṇa āṛē*  
crossroad-it they-say he(h.)- gone- way<sup>e</sup>

insertion of optative

KT 19.3      *iṇaimati vāḷiya neñcē*  
despair(ipt.) may-live heart<sup>e</sup>

summons(?)

KT 198.5      *paṭu kiḷi kaṭikam cērum*  
happen- parakeet we-chase we-go

emphatic presence

NA 128.3      *eṇakku nī uraiyāy āyiṇai*  
me(dat.) you talk-not-you you-became

*mur̥r.* with aspectual impact

KT 275.2      *kaṇṭaṇam varukam ceṇmō tōḷi*      we-saw we-come go friend

AN 398.20f.      *pal pūm kāṇattu alki iṇṇu ivaṇ*  
*cērntaṇai celinē citaikuvatu uṇṭō*

many flower forest- abided today here  
you-joined go-if<sup>e</sup> being-wasted-it it-is<sup>o</sup>

*mur̥r.* inexplicable

NA 373.2-4      *tantai*  
*mai paṭu māl varai pāṭiṇaḷ koṭicci*  
*aivaṇam veḷ nel kuṇūum nāṭaṇ*

father  
collyrium happen- big mountain she-sang creeper-she  
wild-rice white rice pounding- land-he

prefixes ("preposition": *mēl*, *kīl*, *muṇ*, *piṇ*, *uṭaṇ*, *uḷ*, *etir*, *veḷi*; noun: *talai*, *kai*, *puṇam*): *etir-koḷ*, *talai-piritai*, *puṇam-tā*

productive verbs, with noun prefix (x *uru* = to do/be subjected to x): *iṇp'-uru*;  
*kām-uru* (contracted and lexicalised form)

[the phenomenon of spontaneous noun incorporation:  
Kulacēkaraṇ 1.4.1 *māviṇai vāy-piḷantu* “mouth-ripping the horse”]

<i>paṭu:</i>	inf. + <i>paṭutal</i>	passive; stray occurrences already Caṅkam
<i>koḷ</i>	abs. + <i>koḷ-ṭal</i>	reflexive (stray occurrences already in Caṅkam)
<i>pōku:</i>	abs. + <i>pōkutal</i>	semantic differentiation, involuntary conclusion (rare and inconclusive cases in Caṅkam)
<i>niḷ:</i>	abs. in <i>-ā</i> + <i>niḷ-tal</i>	continuous form (predecessor: NA 242.10 <i>tēṭūu</i> <i>niṇra iralai ērē</i> )

[*oḷuku*, *iru* as less successful predecessors of *niḷ* for continuous; occasionally to be found from Caṅkam onwards]

<i>taru:</i>	v.r. + <i>tarutal</i>	an action outside the control of the speaker; since Caṅkam, prevailing, though ignored
<i>uṛai:</i>	abs. + <i>uṛaital</i>	remaining in a stable state; only Caṅkam
<i>amai:</i>	abs. + <i>amaital</i>	reaching a new stability; only Caṅkam
<i>varu:</i>	v.r. + <i>varutal</i>	starting an action; only Caṅkam?
<i>ī:</i>	abs. + <i>ītal</i>	benefactive: already frozen into imperative; only Caṅkam (JLC)
<i>aruḷ:</i>	abs. + <i>aruḷ-ṭal</i>	general benefactive post-Caṅkam (gods!)
<i>oli</i>	abs. + <i>oḷital</i>	an action brought to conclusion/ fruition (bhakti)
<i>(v)iṭu</i>	abs. + <i>(v)iṭutal</i>	completion of an action

passive

KT 288.5 *iṇit' eṇa paṭūum puttēḷ nāṭē*  
pleasant-it say(inf.) happening- god land<sup>e</sup>

[passive with *uṛu* instead of *paṭu*

cf. Cilap. 12.13.1 *cīṛ' ūr oru makaṇāṇṇ nīrai koḷḷa uṛra kālai*  
little village son(inst.) herd take(inf.) had-time]

*taru* (sudden/uncontrollable inset of action/happening)

KT 95.1 *māl varai iḷi tarum tū veḷ aruvi*  
big mountain fall- giving- purity white waterfall

*uṛai* (remaining in a stable state)

KT 65.4 *vārāt' uṛaiyunar varal naccii*  
come-not staying-he(h.) coming longed-for

*amai* (reaching a new (stable?) state)

KT 137.2-4 *niṇ tuṛant' amaikuveṇ āyiṇ eṇ tuṛant'*  
*iravalar vārā vaikal*  
*pala ākuka*

you- abandoned I-become-quiet if my- abandoned  
beggar(h.) come-not day

many(n.pl.) may-become

*varu* (inceptive; onset of an action)

NA 298.5     *arum curam kavalai añcu varum naṇam talai*  
difficult desert crossroad fear- coming- wide place

## Syntax

### 16. Particles and word-order: -ē as a full stop and as rhetorical mark

The observation of syntactical patterns reveals the distribution of particles: main sentences, not subordinate phrases. [Wilden 2006]

[These are patterns fairly strictly observed (though not without deviation) in the early Caṅkam texts. Afterwards things start to desintegrate: already in the AiN you find things that would not be possible in the KT, and by the time of the Kuraḷ confusion is complete. Mark: this is also true of the *sūtra*-s in the theoretical texts (why?)]

main sentence: verbal and nominal clauses, exclamation/address

subordinate clause: abs., inf., *pey.*, v.r., cond., conc., caus., comparison,

embedded construction (which can contain, rather obviously, other main sentences marked by particles, though rarely by -ē)

exceptions: unambiguous verb forms like imperative/optative, negative (problem!), double verb form; next sentence beginning with predicate; the end of a poem(!)

-ē can be accompanied or substituted by a vocative.

[Stylistic exceptions: the aphoristic prelude is usually not marked by a particle.]

normal word-order:	S O P(= f.v./pr.n.)-ē
postposition of subject:	O P S-ē
postposition of object:	S P O-ē
postposition of adverb:	S O P adv.-ē

forms of focalisation

anteposition of subject: S-ē O P(-ē)

anteposition of object: [O-ē P S] rare

anteposition of adverb: [adv.-ē O P S] rare

anteposition of predicate (closed): [O] P-ē S-ē

anteposition of predicate (open-ended): [O] P-ē S

address: N-ē

S O P-ē verbal sentence

KT 13.3f.	...	<i>nāṭaṇ</i>	...	land-he
	<i>nōy tantanaṇē tōḷi</i>		pain he-gave <sup>e</sup>	friend

nominal sentence

KT 35.5	<i>vāṭaiyum pirinticinōrk' alalē</i>
	north wind <sup>um</sup> separated-they(dat.) heat/crying <sup>e</sup>

unmarked ipt.

KT 2.1f. *tumpi*  
*kāmam ceppātu kaṇṭatu molimō*

bee

desire say-not seen-it speak

unmarked double verb form

KT 80.3 *yām aḱt' ayarkam cērum* we that immerse(1.pl.sub.) go(1.pl.sub.)

O P S-ē

KT 170.4f. *malai kelu nāṭaṇ kēṇmai*  
*talaipōkāmai naṛk' arintaṇeṇ yāṇē*

mountain have- land-he intimacy

not-having-come-to-an-end good-it I-knew I<sup>ē</sup>

S P O-ē

KT 50.5 *pulamp' aṇintaṇr' avar maṇanta tōlē*  
loneliness it-adorned he(h.) united- shoulder<sup>ē</sup>

S O P adv.-ē

KT 14.6 *yām nāṇukam ciritē* we be-ashamed(1.pl.sub.) small-it<sup>ē</sup>

S-ē O P-ē (emphasis)

KT 24.5f. ... *koṭiyōr nāvē* ... cruel-they tongue<sup>ē</sup>  
*kātalar akala kalleṇṇravvē* lover(h.) depart(inf.) 'kal'-said(n.pl.)<sup>ē</sup>

[O-ē P S

KT 73.1 *makiḷnaṇ mārpē veyyaiyāl nī* delight-he chest<sup>ē</sup> hot-you<sup>al</sup> you]

[adv.-ē P S

KT 140.3 *curaṇē ceṇṇaṇar kātalar* desert<sup>ē</sup> he-went(h.) lover(h.)]

P-ē S-ē (strong emphasis)

KT 112.4f. *aṛṛē*  
*kaṇṭiciṇ tōli avar uṇṭa eṇ nalaṇē*

thus-it<sup>ē</sup>

see(ipt.) friend he(h.) eaten- my- innocence<sup>ē</sup>

P-ē S (the sentence goes on: coordination)

KT 113.1f. *ūrkkum aṇittē poykai poykaikku*  
*cēyttum aṇṛē cīru kāṇ yāṛē*

village(dat.)<sup>um</sup> close-it<sup>ē</sup> pond pond(dat.)

distance-it<sup>um</sup> is-not-so<sup>ē</sup> little forest river<sup>ē</sup>



P-ē S (rhetoric device: S is part of the next sentence too)

KT 92.3,5     *aḷiya tāmē koṭum ciṟai paravai*     ...  
                  *irai koṇṭamaiyiṇ viraiyumāl celavē*

love/pity-they(n.pl.) self(pl.)<sup>e</sup> curved wing bird(?)     ...  
food having-taken<sup>in</sup> hurrying-<sup>al</sup> going<sup>e</sup>

address

KT 23.1-3     *akaval makaḷē akaval makaḷē*  
                  *maṇavu kōpp' aṇṇa nal neṭum kūntal*  
                  *akaval makaḷē*

Akaval woman<sup>e</sup> Akaval woman<sup>e</sup>  
chank-bead string like good long tresses  
Akaval woman<sup>e</sup>

[exception: -ē in a subordinate phrase

KT 52     *cūr nacaint' aṇṇaiyai āy naṭuṇkal kaṇṭē*  
                  fearful-spirit longed-for thus-you become(abs.) trembling seen<sup>e</sup>

## 17. Modal particles

Particles are employed too to achieve modal modulation. Usually they work in coordination with *-ē*. We have already seen the question marks *-kol*, *-ō* and *kollō*. Some of the more important ones are:

*maṇ/maṇra/-āl* (assertive with shades of evaluation)

*amma* (lament)

*tilla* (wish)

*teyya* (admonition)

*mātō* (particle of emphatically doubtful (rhetorical) question) [render by negative]

*maṛru* adversative/contrastive? (change of subject, topic/perspective)

[unexplained particles: *attai* (2/25 PN), *arō* (10), *-ār* (?), *koṇ-* (22), *māḷa* (3), *yāḷa* (27)]

Syntactical patterns:

*-maṇ* (positive certainty) : S PrN(/f.v.)-**maṇ**

postpositions marked by *-ē*; combinations: *maṇrilla*, *maṇṇō*, *maṇṇē*

*maṇra* (negative certainty): PrN(f.v.) *maṇra* S-*ē*

P *maṇra*

combinations: *maṇramma*

*-āl* (surprising fact): [O] P-*āl* S-*ē*

focalisation: [S] P-*āl* O-*ē*; [S] P-*āl* adv.-*ē*; S-*ē* O P-*āl*; O-*ē* P-*āl*

combinations: *-āl amma*, *-āl tilla*

*amma* ("alas"): P *amma* S-*ē*(.)

focalisation in combination: P *maṇr'* *amma* S-*ē*; P-*āl amma* S

call for attention: *amma vāḷi tōḷi* (?)

*tilla*: P(opt./sub.) *tilla* ("would that ...!" – desire)

P(opt./sub.) *tillamma* ("if only ...!" – irrealis)

*teyya* (admonition; "please"): S O P-*ē*/-*ō teyya*

*mātō*: S O P-*mātō*

*maṛru*: S-*maṛru*; *maṛru*-S (not restricted to main sentence; also in a period; position more fluid)

combinations: P-*maṛrē*, P-*ōmaṛrē*, P-*maṛrilla*

Examples:

*maṇ*

KT 98.2f. ... *ceppunar peṇṇē*  
*naṇru-maṇ vāḷi tōḷi*

... saying-he(h.) obtain-if<sup>e</sup>  
good-it<sup>man</sup> live friend

*maṇṇē*

KT 191.6f. *ōtiyum punaiyal*  
*emmum toṭāal eṇkuvem maṇṇē.*

hair<sup>um</sup> don't-adorn  
us<sup>um</sup> don't-touch we-say<sup>manṇē</sup>

*maṇṇō*

KT 229.4 *ēṭ' il ciṟu ceru uṟupa maṇṇō*  
reason-not little quarrel they-have<sup>maṇṇō</sup>

*maṇṇa*

KT 35.1 *nāṇ ila maṇṇa em kaṇṇē*  
shame not-they(n.pl.)<sup>maṇṇa</sup> our- eye<sup>e</sup>

*-āl*

KT 120.2 *aritu vēṭṭaṇaiyāl neṇcē*  
difficult-it wanted-you<sup>āl</sup> heart<sup>e</sup>

*amma*

KT 45.5 *teṟuvat' amma i tiṇai piṟattalē*  
scorch-it<sup>amma</sup> family/gender being-born<sup>e</sup>

*tillamma*

KT 56.4 *varuka tillamma tāṇē* may-come<sup>tillamma</sup> self<sup>e</sup> (f.sg.)

*tilla*

KT 57.4 *uṭaṇ uyir pōkuka tilla* together life may-go<sup>tilla</sup> (1.pl.)

*teyya*

NA 215.8f. *iṇru nī iṇṇai āki emmoṭu*  
*taṇkiṇ evaṇṇō-teyya*  
today you here-you become(abs.) us-with  
stay-if what<sup>ō</sup> teyya

*mātō*

KT 253.4 *nāl tuyar keṭa piṇ nīṭalar mātō*  
day misery be-lost(inf.) after delay-not-he(h.)<sup>mātō</sup>

*maṛṛu*

KT 299.1      *itu maṛṛ' evaṇō tōḷi*      this<sup>maṛṛu</sup> what<sup>ō</sup> friend

KT 12.5f.      *atu maṛṛ' avalam koḷḷātu*  
*notumal kaḷarum i aḷuṇkal ūrē*

that<sup>maṛṛu</sup> affliction take-not  
indifference murmuring- this- noise village<sup>ē</sup>

Supplement on -ō

syntactical pattern: S [O] P-ō (interrogative pronoun possible)

S-ō [O] P-ē

all types of postposition are possible ([O] P-ō S-ē, S P-ō O-ē, S [O] P-ō adv.-ē)

anteposition is rare

-ō in metrical patterns, often formulaic, mostly within the old stock of  
Akam/Puṛam formulae of mourning: *nōkō yāṇē*

-ō marking ipt./opt.(?): KT 169.2 *irīiyarō*

important: -ō as a particle of demarcation of topic

the transition from a question

KT 221.1      *avarō vārār*      he(h.)<sup>ō</sup> come-not-he(h.)

“I for one.”

KT 21.4f.      *kār eṇa kūṛiṇum*  
*yāṇō tēṇē. avar poy vaḷaṇkalarē*

rainy-season say talking-if-even

I<sup>ō</sup> I-don't-believe he(h.) lie he-uses-not(h.)<sup>ē</sup>.

## 18. Circular Construction

the -ē at the end of the poem is exempt from the rules of postposition:

nouns (subject/apposition, object, adverb)

infinite forms (infinitive, absolutive, conditional)

the “normal” worder can be restored by connecting poem end and poem beginning

traditional concept of *pūttu vil* (“the drawn bow”): first attested in Nakkīraṇ on IA; *sūtra* in Naṇṇūl 415

nominal postposition

subject/subject apposition

KT 16.1,5     *uḷḷār kollō tōḷi ...*  
*am kāl kaḷḷiyaṇ kāṭ’ iṛantōrē<sup>∞</sup>*

remember-not-he(h.)<sup>kollō</sup> friend ...

pretty leg Kaḷḷi(-tree)- wilderness traversed-he(h.)<sup>ē<sup>∞</sup></sup>

object

KT 181.1,7     *itu maṛṛ’ evaṇō tōḷi ...*  
*peru mutu peṇṭirēm ākiya namakkē<sup>∞</sup>*

this<sup>maṛṛu</sup> what<sup>ō</sup> friend ...

big old women-we become(p.)- us(dat.)<sup>ē<sup>∞</sup></sup>

adverb

KT 85.1,6     *yāriṇum iṇiyaṇ pēr’ aṇṇiṇaṇē ...*  
*yāṇar ūraṇ pāṇaṇ vāyē<sup>∞</sup>*

who<sup>iṇum</sup> pleasant-he big love-he<sup>ē</sup> ...

fertility village-he bard mouth<sup>ē<sup>∞</sup></sup>

infinite postposition

absolutive

KT 66.1,5     *maṭava maṇṇa taṭavu nilai koṇṇai ...*  
*vampa māriyai kār eṇa matittē<sup>∞</sup>*

foolish-they(n.pl.)<sup>maṇṇa</sup> breadth standing Laburnum(-tree) ...

new-they(n.pl.) shower(acc.) rainy-season say estimated<sup>ē<sup>∞</sup></sup>

infinitive

KT 157.1,4 *kukkū enṛatu kōli ...*  
*vāl pōl vaikarai vantaṇṛāl enavē<sup>∞</sup>*

'kukkū' said-it fowl ...  
sword similar dawn it-came<sup>āl</sup> say(inf.)<sup>ē∞</sup>

conditional

KT 245.2,6 *... nalam ilantataṇṇum naṇi inṇātē ...*  
*pallōr aṛiya parantu velipaṭiṇē<sup>∞</sup>*

integrity lost-it<sup>inum</sup> abundant pleasant-not-it<sup>ē</sup> ...  
many(h.) know(inf.) spread come-out-if<sup>ē∞</sup>

stylistic types of circular construction:

1 (This is the most frequent and simple one.) The poem contains one single sentence where the head fits to the tail. (Or, occasionally, if more than one sentence then the end of the poem will fit to its first sentence.)

2 The poem contains more than one sentence (two, three, four) one central element of which, perhaps the (logical!) subject or an apposition to this subject, follows in postposition.

(As a subtype to this is to be considered a conditional postpositioned to the end, which is nevertheless valid for all preceding clauses.)

[Status of optical circular structure (what is postponed to the end cannot be counted, strictly speaking, grammatically as part of the first sentence of the poem, but of a subsequent sentence, although its presence is warranted in the beginning of the poem, too):

3 The part of the poem postpositioned to the end is, grammatically speaking, element of the immediately preceding sentence, but should, according to the normal word order, be read in front of it. It is also relevant to the sentence/s at the beginning of the poem.

4 The poem consists of grammatically and syntactically clear-cut and well-ordered sentences, which nevertheless seem to lean on one another, because, for example, the keyword for the understanding of the whole poem is its very last word.]

KT 1

*cem kaḷam paṭam konṛ' avuṇar tēytta*

red field happen(inf.) killed demon(h.)  
reduced-

*cem kōl ampiṇ cem kōṭṭ(u) yāṇai*

red stem arrow<sup>in</sup> red horn elephant

*kaḷal toṭi cēey kuṇṛam*

anklet/loosen- bracelet redness hill

*kuruti pūviṇ kulai kāntaṭṭē.*

blood flower<sup>in</sup> bunch Malabar-glory-lily-it<sup>ē</sup>.

## 19.a Formulae as syntactic matrices [Wilden 2006]

the range of the formulaic repertoire in Tamil poetry

Lord's definition of a formula: a repetition under identical metrical conditions

the oral poetry thesis

formulae as signals: the interaction between bard and listener

formulaic attribution [Kailasapathy 1968, Vacek 2003]

formula – theme – system

KT 246.1	<i>cīru-veṇ kākkaḱ</i>	small white crow
KT 103.3	<i>irai-tēr nārai</i>	prey search- heron(?)
KT 163.3	<i>mīṇ-ār kurukīṇ</i>	fish eat- heron(?) <sup>in</sup>
KT 16.5	<i>aṇ-kār kaḷḷiyaṇ kāṭu</i>	pretty leg Kaḷḷi <sup>am</sup> wilderness
KT 67.5	<i>nilaṇ-kari kaḷḷiyaṇ kāṭu</i>	ground parch- K. w.
KT 216.2	<i>vāṭā vaḷḷiyaṇ kāṭu</i>	fade-not Vaḷḷi <sup>am</sup> w.
(KT 124.2	<i>ōmaiyaṁ peruṇkāṭu</i>	– Ōmai <sup>am</sup> w.)
KT 15.5	<i>cēy-ilai veḷ-vēḷ viṭalaiyoṭu</i>	read leaf white spear warrior-with
KT 378.4	<i>cuṭar-vāy neṭu-vēḷ kālaiyoṭu</i>	glow- mouth long spear man-with

*taṇṇan turaivaṇ, mellam pulampan, naṇmalai nāṭaṇ...*

cool ghat-he, soft loneliness(?) -he, good mountain land-he...

employing formulae for structuring (and announcing) syntax

sensitive spots: poem end and poem beginning (*nōkō yāṇē* and *amma vāḷi tōḷi*)

poem end:

<i>kāṭu</i>	"wilderness" <sup>3</sup>
<i>curaṇ</i>	"waste land" <sup>4</sup>
	<i>īrantōrē</i> "he who traversed"
<i>malai</i>	"mountains" <sup>5</sup>
<i>kunṇu</i>	"hills" <sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> KT 16.5, 67.5, 216.2; AN 1.19, 25.22, 133.18, 151.15, 395.15; NA 14.11, 189.10.

<sup>4</sup> KT 211.7, 215.7, 260.8, 314.6; AN 141.29, 171.15, 201.18; NA 92.9, 274.9.

<sup>5</sup> KT 232.6, 253.8, 287.7, 285.8; AN 111.15, 155.16, 173.18, 185.13, 291.16, 247.13, 249.19, 313.17, 321.17, 347.16, 389.24.

<sup>6</sup> NA 18.10.

complementary to poem beginning/main sentence:

<i>uḷḷārkollō tōḷi</i>	"won't he remember, friend?" (KT16.1,67.1, 232.1) <sup>7</sup>	
<i>yāṇṭuḷar kollō tōḷi</i>	"where is he, friend?"	(KT 285.3) <sup>8</sup>
<i>kēḷā rākuvar tōḷi</i>	"he doesn't hear, friend"	(KT 253.1)
<i>varuvarkol vāḷi tōḷi</i>	"will he come, o friend?"	(KT 215.3, 260.4) <sup>9</sup>
<i>vārār vāḷi tōḷi</i>	"he hasn't come, oh friend"	(KT 314.4)
<i>koṭṭiyar vāḷi tōḷi</i>	"cruel [is] he, oh friend"	(KT 278.4)
<i>eñciṇam vāḷi tōḷi</i>	"we have left behind, oh friend"	(KT 211.3)

optical strategical points: penultimate with i.a. *peyareccam*

topical strategical points: *nāṭaṇ*

the relation between Akam and Puṇam as revealed by formulaic analysis:

warriors, women and trees

the repertoire of mourning

the distribution of one productive formula in the old anthologies:

person/text	PN	KT	NA	AN	AiN
<i>aḷiyāṇ yāṇē</i>	–	30.6, 293.8	152.9, 289.9	–	460.5
<i>aḷiyai nīyē</i>	228.5	–	(14.12)	383.14	–
<i>aḷiyaṇ tāṇē</i>	257.5	–	–	–	–
<i>aḷiyaḷ tāṇē</i>	143.7, 254.11, 293.6	–	(324.1), 352.12	(73.7), (118.4), 146.8, 153.4, (224.18), 287.3, 339.11, 373.19, 381.18	–
<i>aḷitō tāṇē</i>	5.8, 109.1, 111.1, 243.11	149.1, 212.4, 276.8, 395.7	101.6, 114.5	239.1	–
<i>aḷiyam yāmē</i>	–	–	368.10	–	–
<i>aḷiyar tāmē</i>	51.8, 52.8, 81.3, 237.8, 345.12	7.3	–	43.13, (78.12)	381.3
<i>aḷiya tāmē</i>	248.1	92.2	163.7	–	284.1, 455.3

<sup>7</sup> Cf. NA 92.1, 241.1.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. KT 195.3, 176.5, 325.4.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. KT 177.5.



## 19.b Stylistics: Simile and Inset; various types of poems

the inventory of speakers and listeners (poetic reality versus poetics)  
dialogue structures (monologue as dialogue, interior monologue)

special types: messenger poem, aphoristic prelude, incorporation, poem without imagery

special type : a Puṛam/ Akam poem

KT 258.2-7 *kāviri*  
*palar āṭu perum turai marutoṭu piṇitta*  
*ēntu kōṭṭ(u) yāṇai cēntaṇ tantai*  
*ariyalam pukaviṇ am tōṭṭu vēṭṭai*  
*niraiya oḷ vāl ilaiyar perum maṇa*  
*aḷici ārkāṭ' aṇṇa iṅvaḷ*

Kāveri

many(h.) play- big ghat Arjuna-tree-with fettered-  
erect- tooth- elephant Cēntaṇ father  
toddy<sup>am</sup> food<sup>in</sup> pretty mass- hunt  
place-in-a-row(inf.) bright sword attendant(h.) big son  
Aḷici Ārkāṭu like she

incorporation poem

KT 227

*pūṇ vaṇaint' aṇṇa polam cūṭṭu nēmi*  
*vāl mukam tumippa vaḷ itaḷ kuṛainta*  
*kūlai neytalum uṭaitt' iṅvaṇ*  
*tērōṇ pōkiya kāṇalāṇē.*

ornament formed(abs.) like gold rim wheel  
sword face cut(inf.) abundance petal lacked-  
short blue-water-lilyum possess-it this-place  
chariot-he gone- seashore-grove(loc.)ē.

Main types of poems (structuring the message via poetic technique):

simile

inset

evocation

rhetorical strategies: comparison particles – land-subclauses – allusion

a marked comparison announcing a surprising statement on the emotional situation

an integrated land-subclause signalling a conventional (symbolic) comment on the emotional situation that has to be decoded

entwining of thematic and figurative level without being explicit

simile  
KT 290

*kāmam tāṅkumati eṇpōr tām aḷt’  
aṇiyalar-kollō aṇai matukaiyar-kol  
yām em kātalar kāṇēm āyiṇ  
ceri tuṇi perukiya neṅcamoṭu peru nīr  
kal poru ciṇu nurai pōla  
mella mella il ākutumē.*

desire endure(ipt.) saying-they(h.) self(pl.) that  
know-not-they(h.)<sup>kollō</sup> such strength-they(h.)<sup>kol</sup>  
we our- lover we-don't-see if  
dense disgust become-big- heart-with big water  
stone dash- little foam be-similar  
gently gently be-not- we-become<sup>ē</sup>.

inset  
KT 38

*kāṇam mañṇai aṇai iṇ muṭṭai  
veyil āṭu mucuvīṇ kurulaṇi uruṭṭum  
kuṇṇam nāṭaṇ kēṇmai eṇṇum  
naṇṇu-maṇ vāḷi tōḷi uṇ kaṇ  
nīroṭ’ or āṇku taṇappa  
uḷḷāt’ āṇṇal vallaṇṇōrkē.*

forest peacock rock bring-forth egg  
sunlight play- langur<sup>in</sup> young-one rolling-  
hill land-he intimacy always  
good-it<sup>man</sup> live friend collyrium eye  
water-with one like depart(inf.)  
remember-not bearing able-he(h.dat.)<sup>ē∞</sup>

evocation  
KT 287

*ellai kaḷiya mullai malara  
katir ciṇam taṇinta kai aṇu mālaiyum  
irav’ aramp’ āka nīntinam āyiṇ  
evaṇ-kol vāḷi tōḷi  
kaṇkul vellam kaṭaliṇum peritē.*

daylight pass-by(inf.) jasmine blossom(inf.)  
beam anger decreased- action subside- evening<sup>um</sup>  
night border become(inf.) we-swum if  
what<sup>kol</sup> live friend  
night flood sea<sup>inum</sup> big-it<sup>ē</sup>.

## 20 Metre: Ācīriyappā and Venpā – Theoretical and Practical Rules

Sources: Tolkāppiyam Ceyyūḷiyal  
Yāpparuṅkala Virutti  
Yāpparuṅkala Kārikai

metrical units:

*acai* smallest unit which can have up to three syllables

*cīr* foot

*aṭi* line

*acai*

*nirai* *niraipu* (C)V(C)+V(C) (C)V(C)+V(C)+Cu(hyper-short)

*nēr* *nērpū* (C)V(C)(C) (C)V(C)(C)+Cu(hyper-short)

*cīr*

Ācīriyappā: 2 *acai* in any combination of *nirai/nēr/niraipu/nērpū*

exceptional 3-*acai cīr* see below

Venpā: 2 or 3 *acai* in alternating combination of value (a *cīr* ending in *nirai* must be followed by one beginning in *nēr* and vice versa) + 1 *acai* at the end

*aṭi*

Ācīriyappā: 4 *cīr* per line; penultimate only 3

exception Nūrpā (= Ācīriyappā in theoretical texts)

[between 3 *cīr* and very many lines]

Venpā: 4 *cīr* per line; only 3 in the last (and that last one short)

[between 2 and many lines]

*aḷapeṭai*: metrical lengthening to 3 morae *āa*

*kūṇ*: “hunch”; hyper-metrical foot anywhere in the poem

Practical Rules for Ācīriyappā:

There is a close interaction between metre and *sandhi*. The end-consonant of a *cīr* often merges with the beginning consonant of the next. A *cīr* can start with a vowel only in the poem beginning. In that case the preceding end consonant/end-consonant+over-short -u go to the next *cīr* and bear the vowel.

1) An *acai* should not be counted across word-boundaries (this being the most fundamental difference between early and later metrical theory).

2) A short-vowel(C) *nēr* can never begin a *cīr*.

3) Words should not be split across different *cīr*, apart from the end-consonant/end-consonant+over-short -u.

Except to this rule are word forms of 4 *acai* and more (very rarely nouns, frequently finite verbs and participial nouns).

4) Word forms of 3 *acai* are borderline cases and can be accepted in basically three situations:

- a) verb form + particle: *varuvarkol* (KT 177.5) = *nirai-nēr-nēr*, *viṭunaṇmar kollō* (NA 68.7) *nirai-nēr-nēr*,
- b) noun + case ending : *perumaiyir* (NA 50.11) = *nirai-nēr-nēr*, *varuviruntir* (NA 53.8) *nirai-nirai-nēr*,
- c) inserted pronoun: (y)*iṛuttanṇavar* (NA 68.10) *nirai-nēr-nirai*, *munḱainiṇ* (NA 71.2) *nēr-nēr-nēr*.
- [d) problem with the following *cīr*: (n)*aṛaiyaṛaiyāt* (NA 46.7) = *nirai-nirai-nēr*.]

5) Similarly a number of hypo-metrical feet can be accepted, especially with *viṇaiyeccam*-s (*ceytu/ceypu* type = absolutive) that make up a *cīr*: *ceṇṇu*, *vantu...* (i.e. analyse not as *nērpū*, but as *nēr-nēr*.) This does not exclude, however, having *cīr* like *vīṇṇuvīṇṇuk* (PN 35.22) that count as *nērpū-nērpū*. Somewhat less frequent is the *nirai/niraipu* variation: *taṇintu* (KT 195.1) = *nirai-nēr* against *punantulaṇṇantu* (KT 214.1) = *nirai-niraipu*.

[For *niraipu/nērpū* nouns similar allowances can be made, but they are rare. Verbal roots in *niraipu/nērpū* are not acceptable. Their occurrence before a *cīr* beginning in nasal has to be understood as *peyaṛeccam* in -um.]

6) *Aḷapeṭai* and *sandhi* gemination can be metrically disregarded if necessary.